GUIDE TO
ORISSAN RECORDS
Vol. II

SUSHIL CHANDRA DE

ORISSA STATE RECORDS SERIES

GUIDE TO ORISSAN RECORDS

VOLUME II

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PREFACE

This is the Second Volume of the series 'Guide to Orissan Records'. It contains very interesting correspondences that passed between the authorities of the East India Company at different levels about the alleged causes of the Paik Rebellion of 1817 A. D., contained in Manuscript Volume No. 387 (O. S. A.), Judicial Department. As it is not possible to publish all the correspondences in the Volume, only important ones have been published *in extenso* in this book. A sketch of the events from 1804 A. D. to 1817 A. D. has been given in the introduction. Besides, critical notes on the important topics dealt with in the correspondences published herein have also been provided for the convenience of the readers. The correspondences published in this volume will be found interesting to the scholars as well as the administrators. The former will find them rich in historical material of the early period of British rule in Orissa, while the latter would find them interesting and enlightening as to the working of the British administrative machinery in the beginning stage and the attitude and aptitude of the administrative authorities in carrying out their official duties.

New Capital, Bhubaneswar
The 13 March, 1961.

S. C. De,
Curator of Archives,
Government of Orissa.

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1. Please Read J. P, Larkins for I. P. Larkins at p 58, G, Udny for O. Udny at p, 60 and
2. J. W. Sherer for I. W. Sherer at pages 65 and 81.

INTRODUCTION

In Volume I of the Guide to the Orissan Records we have briefly narrated the events from 1760 to 1803 A.D. when Orissa was conquered by the English. Now we shall give a sketch of the events subsequent to the English conquest of Orissa up to the year 1817 A.D. which witnessed the uprising of the Paiks of Khoordah, a notable event in the annals of Orissa in the modern period.

Engagements with the Rajahs and Zemindars of Orissa.

After reduction of Fort of Barabaty Governor General appointed a Commission composed of Lt. Col. Harcourt, Mr. Meville and Mr. Earnest, the Magistrate of Midnapore for organisation of the province of Cuttack. They were ordered to direct their attention, particularly, "to the means of establishing an alliance with the Rajahs in the province of Cuttack and its environs, previously tributaries of the Rajah of Berar x x x x."

Accordingly engagements were concluded with the Rajahs of Khoordah, Mayurbhanj, Angul, Hindol, Daspalla etc. the According to the terms of these agreements, the Rajas acknowledged British authority, promised to pay the stipulated tribute (fixed quit-rent) and assist the Company with troops, if necessary. Besides, arrangements were made for the safety of the police and revenue of the Company's contiguous possession. The British Government, in return, engaged never to increase the revenue or make any additional pecuniary demand (1). Similar engagements were made with other Zemindars. *Sanads* were granted to the Zemindars of Darpan, Sukinda and Madhupur entitling them to hold their Estates at a fixed *Jumma* in perpetuity.

Settlement of the land revenue with the Zemindars of Ali, Kujang, Pattra (Patia ?), Harispur, Marichpore, Bishnupore and Kanika fixing the annual quit-rent in perpetuity was also made (2). Thus, the British conquest of Orissa proper was completed and British Authority was established.

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1. NTME, pp. 233-34.
2. Toynbee, (History of Orissa), Appendix, pp. ccx-ccxi

Affairs of the Rajas of Sambalpur, Patna etc. :

Next we may turn our attention to the Tributary Chiefs of Sonepur, Baud, Sambalpur and Patna etc. Soon after Major Forbes' arrival at Badmul agents from Rajahs of Baud and Sonepur met him and offered to submit to the British Authority. Major Forbes referred these cases to Col. Harcourt who accordingly wrote letters to the Rajas of Sambalpur, Sonepur and Baud offering them British protection and friendship, in token of which they were annually to pay 5 Gold Mohurs only. He promised, "The Hon'ble Company will not require any Peeshcush or other consideration for their friendship or protection." Agreements with the Rajas of Sambalpur, Sonepur and Baud were ultimately executed on the 13th December 1803 in the following form.

Agreement :

We, Lt.-Col. George Harcourt Bahadur, Commanding the British Troops in and Commissioner for the affairs of the Province of Anderi, and Mr. John Melville, Commissioner for the affairs of the said Subha, having been appointed Commissioners for the arrangement of the affairs of this Subha by his Excellency the Governor-General, enter into an agreement with the.................. Rajah of..............., in the name of the Company according to the following articles :—

1st. We engage to receive five Gold Mohurs annually as wish of courtesy.

2nd. It is well known that the Hon'ble Company be friend and suppcrt upon all occasions those Princes that form an alliance with them and that those who are in friendshp with them remain suitable returns. If the said Rajah will continue on his part to maintain the friendship required of him, nothing shall be wanting on the part of Hon'ble Company to repay such friendship in the most minute also." (3)

The treaty of Peace was concluded between the East-India Company and the Rajah of Berar on 17th December, 1803 according to the 2nd Article of which Bhonsla ceded to the Hon'ble Company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, the Province of Cuttack, including the port and District of Balasore."

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3. Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records (SNRR.,) Vol. I, pp. 35-36.

So the States of Sambalpur, Patna, Boud, Sonepur etc. which were not included in Orissa remained under the Maratha control. But according to the 10th article, "certain treaties have been made by the British Government with the feudatories of Senah Saheb Sooba. These treaties are to be confirmed."

It may be noted that Major Broughton had in the mean time conquered Sambalpur and Sonepur on 3rd January, 1804 before the news of the Treaty reached Orissa (4). So according to the terms of the Treaty of Deogaon the Chiefs of Sambalpur, Sonepur and Boud, Raigarh, Sarngarh, Redhakhol, Gangpur, Bamra, Bonai, Sakti and Bargarh etc. who had already accepted the British offer of protection and friendship were not to be sent back to the control of the Rajah of Berar. On the 3rd March, 1804 the above chiefs made a petition (5) for British protection strongly resenting their transfer to Maratha control.

Accordingly the Secretary to the Government, Fort-William, sent a letter to the Resident at Nagpur requesting him to discuss the matter with regard to the Chiefs of Sambalpur, Patna, Sonepur etc. with Rajah of Berar and place before him the Governor-General's decision in this connection. Since the engagements had been concluded with those chiefs it was obligatory on the part of the British Government to maintain their public faith. In view of this handing over those chiefs without their express and voluntary demand to the control of the Maratha Government would tentamount to a breach of public faith. So the Governor General proposed that they might be allowed to remain under the British Control, and the British Government would guarantee to the Rajah of Berar, "The annual receipts of the full amount of Revenue or Tribute which he derived from the Chieftains and territories in question, but even to compensate by any practicable means for this unavoidable reduction of the extent of his dominations." So the Governor General proposed to following details to be settled with the Rajah of Berar.

(i) That those persons be exempted from the exercise of any authority whatever on the part of the Rajah of Berar or of the British Government.

4. SNRR, Vol. I p. 38.

5. Ibid. pp. 57-58.

(ii) That with the exception of those persons who by the terms of their engagements have been excepted from the payment of tribute to the British Government the remaining persons of the description stated in the preceding part of this paragraph, hereafter pay to the British Government the amount of the Revenue or tribute which they formerly paid to the Government of Berar.

(iii) That the aggregate amound of the Revenue or tribute which previously to the War, the Rajah of Berar derived from the territories described in the preceding part of this paragraph be paid annually by the British Government to such person as the Rajah of Berar shall appoint to receive it, either within the limits of the British possessions, or by the British Resident at Nagpur.

(iv) That in the event of a failure in the payment of their stipulated tribute, on the part of those persons from whom tribute or revenue is demandable or in the event of any conduct or the part of any of those persons in question of a nature injurious to the interest of the Rajah of Berar or inconsistent with the spirit and intent of this arrangement, the British Government shall withdraw its protection from the person so acting (6).

The Governor General suggested to compensate the Rajah of Berar for the loss of revenue and also for the loss of his Authority, if it could be possible.

It appears from the letter of the Secretary to the Government to the Resident of Nagpur dated 18th May, 1804 that the Raja of Berar did not consent to the proposal of the Governor General. So the Resident of Nagpur was authorised to state to the Rajah in the name of Governor General that "His Excellency has learned with surprise and concern the Raja's prevarication and flagrant violation of public faith, that Peace was granted to him as a boon, and that His Excellency is determined to renew the War if the Rajah does not fulfil the conditions of Treaty by signing the list of engagements within 24 hours after he shall receive the requisition which you are now instructed to make." (7)

With the appointment of Cornwallis as Governor General in India, a new policy of peace was initiated in place of the 'forward' policy of Lord Wellesley. This change in the policy was reflected

6. Ibid, pp. 42-45.

7. Ibid, p. 60.

on the Sambalpur affairs as would be evident from the letter of Mr. Edmonston, Secretary to the Government dated the 12th September, 1805 (8) to Captain Roughsedge wherein he writes, "It is unnecessary to exaplain to you the considerations which render the Governor General extremely anxious to have it in his power to restore these possessions', evidently to the Rajah of Berar. To be relieved of their obligations to the Chief with whom engagements had been executed, the Governor General proposed that such chiefs would be compensated by grants of money, or lands under the British, if they would like to leave their possessions under the Marathas. Even if they would not, the Governor General would compensate them 'for the deterioration of their condition by the transfer of the provices of Sambalpore and Patna to the authority of the Rajah of Berar,···········." So, Captain Roughsedge was directed to open up negotiation with the Chiefs concerned on the above principles.

Captain Roughsedge, in his reply dated the 17th September, 1805 (9), stated that it would be difficult to persuade the Chiefs of Sambalpore and Patna either to go back to the Maratha control, or leave the possessions for the land to be assigned to them elsewhere under the British possessions. He however proposed that the Chiefs of Patna might be assigned lands in Khurda, while those of Sambalpur in Chotanagpur. He put forth many allegations against the conduct, and attitude towards the British of the Rajah of Chotanagpur, on account of which the Rajah merited deposition.

On receipt of the above letter of Roughsedge, Government probably gave due consideration to the proposal of assignment of lands for the Chiefs of Patna and Sambalpur in Khurda. Because, the Dy. Secretary to the Government, Revenue Board, addressing a letter to the President of the Board of Revenue on the 12th November (10), 1805 states, 'The Hon'ble the Governor General having in contemplation an arrangement which will include the assignment of a considerable portion of land, in Jagir, to certain Chieftains and Zemindars of the Province of Sambalporr and Patna, who have been rendered dependant on the British Government by the operation of the Treaty of Peace concluded with the Rajah of Berar on the 17th of December 1803, I am directed by the Hon'ble

8. S.N.R.R. Vol. I, pp. 66-68.

9. Ibid. pp. 68-71.

10. Ms, Records, Vol. 4, Receipt No. II, O.S.A.

the Vice President in Council to desire that you will ascertain and report with the least practicable delay in what quarter of the Company's Dominions such assignments of lands may be most conveniently effected,"

The Vice President in Council is unable at the present moment to state the precise amount of the value of the land, which will be required for the proposed assignment; but he desires that you will submit a statement of the quantity of land which may be at the disposal of Government in such parts of the British Territories as may be best adopted for the purpose in view together with as accurate an amount as may be procurable of the value of such lands."

It appears to be probable that disposable Territory in the Province of Cuttack including the forfeited lands in the District of Khurda may be of sufficient extent to admit of the assignment of the requisite number of Jaggeers within the limits of that Province, and the Vice President in Council accordingly disires to call your attention to this point, and to desire that you will furnish as soon as may be practicable, a particular statement of the Extent and value of the disposable Territory in that quarter."

Roughsedge in his letter dated the 19th January 1806 to the Secretary to the Government informed that the Ranee of Sambalpur had agreed to the proposal (11). Again on the 23rd February 1806, Roughsedge communicated the information that he had discussion with the Rajah of Patna and the Chiefs under him, and also the Rajas of Fuljhar and Khariar from whom he received "a written declaration of their respectful acquiescence in the principle of the arranged desire by Government on the assurance of an adequate provision for themselves and families in the British Territory and of the fulfilment of my engagements to accompany and in them fixed in several situations to be assigned to them (12)."

Probably on receipt this information arrangements for assignment of lands to the Chiefs of Sambalpur and Patna in Khurda were expedited as appears from the letter of the Secretary to the Government to Thomas Graham, President, Board of Revenue, of the date, 20th March, 1806 (13). The Secretary writes—"I am directed

11. S.N.R.R. Vol. I, pp. 71-73.

12. Ibid, pp. 73-74.

13. Ms. Volume Op. Cit.

to transmit to you the enclosed statement of persons to whom it is proposed, if practicable, to assign a provision from the lands in Khoorda, which may be at the disposal of Government, and to desire, that you will instruct the Collector of Cuttack to proceed without delay to select lands in Khoordah of the value stated in the enclosd Document for the purpose of being appropriated in the manner above stated."

The Governor General in Council desires, that you will instruct the Collector to appointing Captain Roughsedge in Sambalpur of the selection of lands which he may make under the foregoing instructions at as early a period as may be practicable."

"AMOUNT OF ANNUAL PROVISION PROPOSED TO BE ASSIGNED TO THE UNDERMENTIONED ZAMEENDARS.

Zemindar	Zemindary	Amount annual provision Sicca Rupees.
Ranee Ruttan Coher	Sumbhulpore Khass	12,000
Rajah Joujar Sing	Ry-Ghur	8,000
Baboo Rogonat Sing	Sonepore	8,000
Rajah Inder Sieier	Gangpore	4,000
Rajah Bissnat Saby	Saringhur	5,500
Rajah Trebohun Deo	Bamra	3,600
Rajah Inder Deo	Bonee	2,400
Secor Adjeet Sing	Burgur	2,400
Dewan Deeb Sing	Suctee	2,400
Borbredda Jemma	Seracole	2,400
Choota Ranee	Sumbhulpore Khass	3,000
	Total Sicca Rupees	53,700

Zemindar	Zemindary	Amount annual provision Sicca Rupees.
	PATNA	
1. Rajah Rachunder Deo	Patna Khass	8,000
2. Rajah Pertab Rudder	Kherier & Nowagur	6,000
3. Rajah Pertee Sing	Loolgur	2,400
	Total in Sumbhulpore & Patna	70,000" (13)

13. Ms. Volume Op. Cit.

Affairs of the Rajah of Khurda

We may now turn our attention to the affairs of the Rajah of Khurda. Mukundadeva II who was then a minor boy was practically under the control of Jaykrushna Rajguru who was in-charge of the management of the whole Estate. Just on the eve of the British invasion of Orissa, Col. Harcourt was anxious for the support of the Rajah of Khurda for a clear and safe passage of the English force through his territory. With that object he met the Vakil of the Khurda Rajah in Ganjam, and through him, he Communicated the message to the Rajah of Khurda requesting him to grant a free and safe passage to the British army and transfer his allegiance from the Marathas to the British. The Rajah of Khurda agreed to comply with the request on the condition of payment of a lakh of rupees in cash after conquest of Cuttack and restoration of the Mahals, (Purusottam, Rahang, Limbai, Serai and Chabiskud) wrested from him by the Marathas, to his control. Colonel Harcourt and the Magistrate of Ganjam agreed to those conditions. (14)

After the conquest, the engagements were duly concluded with the Rajah of Khurda and a part of the promised cash was paid to Jai Rajguru who, however, did not hand over the same to the Rajah and said that he had spent the amount on payment to the troops. The aforesaid four pargannahs however were not returned. The main reason for this breach of faith on the part of the Commissioners seemed to be their reluctance to part with the possession of the most productive regions of the Rajah of Khurda which, they thought, they could legitimately claim since those estates were under the Maratha occupation.

14. Vide English Translation of the petitition of the Rajah of Khurda.—Ms. Volume No. 10 (Board of Revenue), pp. 10-15, according to which the English authorities promised to pay one lakh of rupees in cash and to restore the four paraganas to the Rajah. But according to letter of Melville to the Government dated the 21st September 1803 the English promised to pay one lakh of rupees but did not make any commitment about restoration of the four parganas. We have accepted the statement made in the Raja's petition mentioned above in consideration of the fact that the Rajah had been trying to recover those four parganas for long and it was the promise of restoration of those parganas, not the petty cash of one lakh of rupees which would have influenced the Rajah to make an alliance with the English.

The Marathas came to occupy the parganas in question under the following circumstances. In 1760 A. D. Virakisore Deva, the Rajah of Khurda was attacked by Gajapati Narayan Dev, the Rajah of Parlakhimedi. Virakisore Dev finding himself unable to ward off the attack sought the assistance of the Marathas. The enemy was driven off, but the Rajah could not pay the military expenses demanded by the Maratha Governor of Orissa and consequently he had to mortgage the best part of his possession, consisting of those parganas. The Marathas thereafter virtually annexed them to their territory and the Rajah of Khurda was never able to recover them (15) It was a great financial loss to the Rajah and it continued to be so to his successors who always tried for the restoration of those praganas, but in vain.

So, when the British came, the Rajah was hopeful about recovery of those parganas, and as a matter of fact, he stipulated for their restoration in liew of support to the British against the Marathas, as already noted above.

But after the conquest, the Commissioners considered those praganas as a part of the Maratha territory conquered by them and so, they did not agree to restore them to the Rajah of Khurda. Hence the Rajah, or for that matter, his guardian Jaykrushna Rajguru, thought of forcible occupation of those estates.

Consquently there was slight upheaval in October 1804; a body of Paiks taken to be the soldiers of Khurda, attacked Pipli. Prior to this, the Rajah had sent his men to collect revenue from those parganas. So the Commissioners were alarmed, specially in view of the fact that there was a strong rumour current at the time about a Maratha attack on Orissa, and that British force was then much reduced to meet any emergency. So the Commissioners were determined to root out all dangers before they assumed any formidable proportions (16).

Troops were ordered from Ganjam and Cuttack to march into Khurda. The fort of the Rajah of Khurda was stormed on the 5th December 1804 and razed to the ground. Raja escaped and fled southwards. Realising that it was hopeless to fight against the British he surrendered himself on 3rd January, 1805 and was

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15. Puri District Gazatteer (1929), p. 51.
16. Toynbee—History of Orissa, pp. 7-8.

incarcerated in the Barabati fort at Cuttack. Soon afterwards he was removed to Midnapore (17). He was released in 1807 (18) and was allowed to live in Puri. He was made the Superintendent of the Puri temple by Regulation IV of 1809 (19). But after occupation his Estate was confiscated and the management was placed in charge of Major Fletcher who had taken part in the storming of the fort of Khurda. The Rajah was granted a malikana amounting to Rs.2133-5-4.

Reduction of the Rajas of Kujang and Kanika.

After settlement of the affairs of the Rajah of Khurda, Col. Harcourt turned his attention to the Rajahs of Kujang and Kanika. These two Oriya Chiefs were not in the good book of the English authorities on account of their depredations on the British ships passing along the coast of those two Estates during the Maratha regime. Though agreements had been concluded with them after the conquest and there was nothing to complain against their conduct, still they were not free from suspicion. When there was an apprehension of Maratha attack in 1803 Col. Harcourt wrote to Captain Morgan to despatch a detachment to keep watch on the Rajah of Kanika. The attitude of Col. Harcourt towards the Rajah of Kanika is clearly indicated by this incident. So when the Rajah of Khurda showed signs of resistence to the British authority Col. Harcourt naturally suspected some secret agreement between the three chiefs. Hence just after the reduction of the Rajah of Khurda he took immediate steps to deal with those two chiefs in order that they may not find opportunity to create any trouble.

Kujang affairs.

After the conquest of Orissa Birabhadra Sendh, the Rajah of Kujang duly executed agreement with the English Government and he maintained good relations till his murder in September 1804. He was mudered by his Diwan in complicity with his younger brother Chandradhvaja Sendh. Mudhusadan Sendh who was elder to Chandradhvaja was kept confined in a fort. Chandradhvaja was recognised as the successor of Birabhadra by the Commissioners who were unaware of his treachery. In a letter of 22nd January 1805 Col. Harcourt informed Chandradhvaja that troops were proceeding

17. Ibid.
18. Ms. Vol. No. 10 (Board of Revenue) p. 231.
19. Puri District Gazetter, p. 132.

towards his estate and any disobedience on his part would result in his deposition. Col. Harcourt himself proceeded at the head of the troops in February 1805. Chandradhvaja was greatly alrmed, at the approach of English force and fled away out of fear. Madhusudan Sendh was released from his confinement and was set up as the Rajah of Kujang in place of Chandradhvaja. He had to execute a fresh agreement containing some new clauses. According to the new clauses, the arrangement of salt manufacture in the Mughalbandi area was to be introduced into Kujang, the Rajah was to give an account of the property saved from the wrecks of any vessel on his coast, to carry out all orders received from the British Government, and lastly he was to take care of the family of the deposed Rajah.

After settling the Kujang affair Col. Harcourt proceeded to Kanika which had also been reduced and brought away two brass guns that were found there.

Chandradhvaja was arrested in May 1805. Two persons, Bhawat and Jagusi, who were instrumental in his arrests were rewarded Rs. 2000/- each.

Thus ended the Kujang affairs. The English authority was firmly established there (20).

Affairs of the Rajah of Kanika.

Balabhadra Bhanj, the Raja of Kanika executed agreement with the English Government on the 22nd November 1803. He was also recognised as the Zemindar of Utikan Bisi. The relation between the Rajah of Kanika and the East India Company continued to be satisfactory till September 1805. It is the period when the Rajah of Khurda was showing signs of refractoriness. So the Commissioners took steps to see that Rajah of Kanika did not send any help to the Rajah of Khurda or create any trouble out of sympathy for him. They found a pretext for warning the Rajah against his oppression on the raiyats of the Utikan Bisi. But the Rajah did not listen to the warning and showed a stiff and defiant attitude. The Commissioners were at that time occupied with the affairs of the Rajah of Khurda. So they waited till their hands were clear of it Col. Harcourt in his letter of the 27th February 1805 to Rebost Ker, the Collector of Balasore, ordered to take over the charge of the Kanika Estate for

20. History of Freedom Movement in Orissa Vol. I, pp. 68-72.

revenue collection and also for assertation of British authority. He was also ordered to arrest the Rajah of Kanika. Captain Blunt and Major Andrew were ordered to render necessary military assistance to Robert Ker. Rajah did not resist the British forces. He was arrested and sent to Balasore where he lived up to September 1805, thereafter he was removed to Midnapore.

After the arrest of the Rajah his supporters tried to create some trouble. Colonel Herbert, surveyor in charge of the Gun-vessel in his letter of the 3rd March 1805, informed Col. Harcourt that he had received information about a rising in Kanika. Murad Khan and Shah Beg Khan and the Diwan of the Rajah appear to have been ring-leaders of the insurgents. Subahdar Sibaprasad and Captain Macarthy were sent to suppress the rising. By the 12th March 1805 the situation in Kanika had been brought under control (21).

Thus ended the first phase of the foundation of English rule in Orissa. After these operations the authority was firmly established in Orissa. In the next stage the authorities devoted themselves to the administrative organisation of the province.

Condition of the people of Orissa under the new regime.

The English administration from 1803 to 1817 A. D. was highly detrimental to the interest of the people of Orissa. A completely new system of administration was suddenly imposed upon them. They had been long accustomed to a simple and straight forward system under the Mughals-Marathas. Matters were settled or diposed of quickly and without any system of complicated intermediaries. The grievances of the Zemindars were listened to sympathetically and remissions and concessions were given to them where facts warranted such measures. Failure to pay the Government revenue in time did not involve sale of the Zemindari as under the new rule. Extension of time was allowed where any Zemindar failed to pay his dues on account of any genuine difficulty. The Zemindars on their part treated their subjects with similar liniency. Payment of Revenue was made in cash and kind, mostly in cowries. Under the new regime the cowry currency was abolished and the Zemindars were made to pay their dues in coins. This sudden abolition of the most popular and widely prevalent currency quite

21. Ibid, pp. 79-83.

upset the existing economic system of Orissa. The Zemindars, raiyats and the common people suffered alike.

With the establishment of the English rule the Oriyas were excluded from all administrative posts which were filled up by outsiders who had little sympathy with the residents of the province and whose main outlook was to promote their own interest by all means at the cost of the people of Orissa. Thus started a period of harassment and exploitation of the Oriyas by the officials and clerks of the new Government. The Revenue officials intrigued to deprive the Oriya Zemindars of their property and to get them auctioned in the names of their relatives. The intricacy of the English Judicial system and the heavy and sundry demands made by the clerks and officials of the department rendered it almost impossible for the Oriyas to contest their cases or to bring suits against wrong-doers in the Courts. In the muffassil areas the people were harassed, oppressed and exploited by the Police officials. Thus the whole administrative system was most detrimental to the interests of the people of Orissa. The introduction of salt monopoly resulted in shooting up of the price of salt to the unprecedented level from As. 4-5 to Rs. 2/- or more. The cumulative effect of all these factors was the complete shattering of the economic system of Orissa and reduction of the economic state of the indigenous people to a very low level. So it was but natural that people should groan and grumble. But long years of subjugation under alien rule had made the people accustomed to put up with the worst state of things without as much as a strong protest. All these things would have passed unnoticed by the authorities who were all along under the false notion that the Oriyas were much happier under their benign and civilised rule than they were under the previous barbarous system. It was only the Paiks of Orissa who, when hit hard by the new system, had the courage to rise in protest under their popular leader, Bakshi Jagabandhu, who had himself been reduced to a state of destitution in consequence of the evil effects of the new administration.

After the confiscation of Khurda the Jagir-lands of the Oriya military chiefs and service-lands of the Paiks were assessed as ordinary lands. This was an additional grievance of the Paiks and their leaders. They looked upon it as a serious encroachment on their right enjoyed from times immemorial. The Paiks and their leaders had still in them the last vestiges of the former Oriya military spirit, and so, they could hardly take all injustice heaped

on them quite lying down as in case of the common people. So they rose in rebellion. They had hardly any hope against the British force, still they rose just because it became too intolerable for them to stand injustice any longer.

Khurda Paik Rebellion (1817)

The rebellion broke out in the month of April (22) 1817 A. D. A body of about 400 Chuars (23) (a wild tribe inhabiting Jungle region) (24) from Ghumsar area in Ganjam entered Khurda. They were joined by the Paiks of Khurda under the leadership of Jagabandhu Vidyadhara. Then they attacked the Government offices and buildings in Banpur and Khurda area. Government Officers fled away and civil buildings were burnt down. Soon the spirit of rebellion spread to the adjoining areas. The authorities were taken by surprise by the sudden flare-up and quick deterioration in the situation. Martial law was proclaimed on the 14th April 1817 A. D. in Khurda and subsequently, on the 19th April, it was extended to Puri, Piply and Limbai (25). Puri was also captured by the insurgents and the European officers abandoned the city and retreated towards Cuttack.

The preliminary attempts to check the insurgents proved to be of no avail. Lt. Faris was shot dead; Lt. Predeaux had to retreat back. But the table was turned with the advance of Captain Wallington to Puri on 2nd April and Captain Le Fevre to Khurda on the 9th April 1817. The detachment under Le Fevre encountered opposition on his way to Puri from Khurda and completely routed the Paiks on the 18th April 1817. He then continued to March to Puri which he reached on the same day. There he found that Captain Wallington had been driven out of the town. He occupied Puri and captured the Rajah of Khurda. In the mean time Major Hamilton was sent with a force to Puri where he relieved Captain Le Fevre who returned to Cuttack with the Raja of Khurda. On the way he was attacked by the Paiks with a view to rescue the Rajah of Khurda but they were beaten off by Captain Armstrong. Thereafter the rebellion in Khurda-Puri region practically died out.

22. The rebellion broke out in March according to Toynbee and in April according to the report of the Chief Secretary of the 10th August 1817 A. D. (Ms. Vol. No 387, O. S. A.)

23. Khonds according to Toynbee and 'Chooars' according to Chief Secretary's report.

24. Bengal District Gazetteer, Midnapore (1911), p. 39.

25. Chief Secretary's report, Ms. Vol, op. cit.

In Cuttack area thanas of Tirun, Asureswar. Patamundai and Paharajpore and the Estate of Kujang were affected by the rebellion. The Paiks in those areas had taken up arms. Military operations in the area were started in September under Captain Kennet and Lt. Forrester. The insurrection was stamped out very soon. The Rajah of Kujang was taken prisoner. By the end of the year 1817, the situation had been brought under control (26).

Special Commission.

General Gabriel Martindel who was appointed as Military Commissioner arrived in Khurda in May. He directed the operations in the affected areas. After the return of general tranquility, a Special Commission was constituted consisting of Martindel and W. Ewer to enquire into the causes of the disturbauce and suggest remedy thereof.

Lots of correspondences passed between authorities of the different Departments in this connection, the important ones of which have been published in extenso in this volume.

Main grievances of the people.

We have briefly discussed the effects of the early British administration on the people of Orissa. The grievances of the people during early part of the British rule upto 1818, can be broadly classified under the following heads :—

(i) Maladministration in the Revenue Department,
(ii) Depreciation of the value of cowry currency and
(iii) Introduction of Salt Monopoly.

We shall now briefly discuss the subjects in the light of the facts contained in the correspondence that passed between the administrative authorities relating to those matters.

Revenue Administration.

The British authorities, after conquest of Orissa, launched upon their scheme of administrative organisation with all earnestness and rather with too much of haste.They utterly overlooked the fact that the new administrative machinery should be set up against a suitable background, political and cultural. So, without proper study of the

26. Toynbee's History of Orissa, pp. 17-33, Chief Secretary's Report, op. cit.

system to which the people had been accustomed for centuries they set up their own system which conflicted rather sharply with what the people were used to; consequently, the people could hardly adjust themselves to the new situation. Chaos and confusion ran rampant much to the discomfort of the people in general and great disavantage of the administrators themselves.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the British Administrators were prejudiced, or rather misled, by the idea that the administration under the Indian rulers, specially under the Marathas, was extremely bad and the people were chafing under it. Naturally they expected that their own system, based as it was on much more enlightened and modern principles, would be welcome by the people. Misled by this notion they tried to introduce their administrative changes rather too quickly to allow the people to adjust themselves to the new system and settle down to it.

The revenue yield of Orissa under the Marathas is variously estimated as Rs. 17 lakhs (27), 22 lakhs (28) and 15 lakhs(29) of rupees. In one of the statements submitted by Mr. Trower, the Collector of Cuttack, to the Board of Revenue along with his report dealing with the probable causes of the rebellion, the gross and net revenue under the Maratha for 12 years from 1790-91 to 1801-02 was given. According to the statement, the average annual gross collection and net collection amounted to Rs. 13,78000 and 11,63,000 respectively (30). This falls far short of the revenue of Orissa under the Mughals which amounted to about 35 lakhs (31). The reasons for this fall in revenue under the Marathas are as follows :

(a) The portion of the Subah of Orissa to the north of the river Subarnarekha was separated from Orissa causing a loss of revenue amounting to 10 lakhs rupees per year.

(b) The chaotic conditions that prevailed in Orissa for 10 years from 1741-1751 as the result of the war between the Marathas and the Nawab of Bengal was ruinous to the financial condition of the people of Orissa. There are many other factors

27. Wills, British relation in the Nagpur State in the 18th century, p. 97.
28. Ibid, p. 107.
29. Benerji. History of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 244-45.
30. Ms. Vol. O.S. A. No. 387, p, 316.
31. Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, p. 220.

that contributed to the progressive deterioration of the economic condition of the people of Orissa since the year 1568 A. D. when Orissa lost her independence. So, viewed against this background, the fall in revenue income of Orissa under the Marathas was quite natural. Some English Historians attribute it to misrule under the Marathas. But, on the other hand, it could be said that the Maratha were rather sympathetic with the people and did not tax them beyond what they could pay reasonably. Had they tried to squeeze the people to the utmost they could have certainly collected more than they did. The truth of the statement is borne out by the fact that in the first year under the British regime, the Jama was fixed at 13 lakhs in round figures and was increased to 14 lakhs next year and to 15 lakhs 4 years after (32). The increase in the revenue under the British within the first decade of their administration can, by no means, be attributed to good rule and consequent improvement in the financial resources of the people. So the British authorities taxed the people of Orissa more heavily than did the Marathas. There are many other points which go to corroborate this view. Ewer, one of the Commissioners appointed for investigating into the causes of the rebellion, thought that Orissa was more heavily assessed under the British than under the Marathas and he thought that the revenue Jama under the British exceeded that under the Marathas by at least Rs. 3 lakhs (33). So, we can say that the Marathas were more sympathetic with the people than their predecessors, the Mughals, and successors, the British. They made many grants for charitable purposes and levied no tax on the most important item of food in Orisssa, viz. salt, which, under the British monopoly system, became too costly for the poor. They were very considerate about the difficulties of the Zamindars of Orissa who were usually not very affluent, specially on account of natural calamities, like floods, droughts, etc. to which their areas were often subjected. Zamindars often were granted remissions in such cases of natural calamities. Besides, they were granted 10% Commission on their revenue collection for their establishment expenses. Payment in cash or kind was permissible. Cowry shells were accepted in payment of revenue. Punctuality in payment was not rigorously demanded; sometimes zamindars were allowed sufficient time for paying up their arrear dues. Assessment was made on the basis of

32. Toynbee, op cit. p, 96.

33. Ewer, Correspondence on the Settlement of Khurda in Puri, Vol. I, pp. 25-28.

actual annual yield of the soil. So there was little chance of over-assessment. These were, in brief, the advantages the Zamindars were accustomed to before the British came.

The British authorities in charge of revenue organisation did not care to study the system the people were accustomed to in Orissa and introduced their own system based on their experience in a province where situation was quite different. Assessment was made without proper enquiry into the actual yield in previous years or the amount of land under cultivation; naturally it was neither equitable nor evenly distributed. Another mistake committed by the Revenue Officers under the early British regime was the strict enforcement of Bengal Revenue Regulations that were suitable for Bengal with permanently settled areas and with comparatively low assessment. It aggravated the severity of over-assessment. The other privileges enjoyed by zamindars were also denied. Consequently the position of the Oriya Zamindars became precarious. They could hardly meet the Government demands, and that too in cash and with strict punctuality. Consequently they fell into arreas and their Estates were put to sale. Between the years 1806-1816, as many as 1011 Estates out of the total of 2340 were disposed of in this way(34). This would show how severely the Oriya Zamindars were hit by the injudicious assessment and enforcement of Bengal Regulations.

Another thing which added to the miserable plight of the Oriya Zamindars was the short-term settlements with fluctuating assessments. Annual settlement was not a new thing to the Oriya Zamindars, but arbitrary assessments without reference to actual yield of land or the amount of cultivated or even cultivable land was the source of real hardship. By the Regulation XII of 1805 Zamindars of Orissa were given the hope that at the end of eleven years a permanent settlement would be concluded, but it never materialised. This also added to the sense of frustration of the Oriya Zamindars. In the absence of any sure prospects about a permanent settlement they could hardly continue to engage for their over-assessed Estates at the grave risk of reducing themselves to almost bankruptcy. They did petition to the Government enumerating the privileges they were accustomed to under the Marathas and praying for the continuance of the same, but the British authorities were too conceited with the notion of the superiority of their own system

34. Trowers Report. Ms. Vol, 387, O. S. A.

to take into consideration the real grievances of the Zamindars of Orissa (35). They, on the other hand, considered it to be just a plea for evasion of payment. So the Oriya Zamindars had no other alternative left but to resign themselves to the inevitable fate.

Then again, the Oriya Zamindars had to face two more formidable difficulties against which they were almost helpless. Many of the Amlas of the Revenue Department were always designing to acquire landed property, taking advantage of the helplessness of the Oriya proprietors. Between the years 1806 to 1816 A. D. as many as 350 Estates were purchased by the Amlas of the Government, mostly outsiders (36). Mr. Trower in his report stated that revenue officials 'utilised their influences in preventing the Oriyas from entering into competition with them in purchase of lands' (37). Thus when any Oriya Zamindar's Estate was sold they got it purchased in the name's of their relatives. But when their own Estates were sold they prevented Oriya proprietors from purchasing them and got them purchased by their own men. So the machination of the Amlas were responsible for depriving many Oriya proprietors of their hereditary Estates.

The Mode of sale of Estates was another great hardship for the Oriya Zamindars. Estates with a Jama of Rs. 5000/- or above, were sold at Calcutta where the Oriya proprietors had little scope to purchase them. Consequently very valuable Estates were sold for compartively low price to the benefit of outsiders (38).

Lastly, the resumption of the hereditary Paik-Jagir lands provided the needed spark for the smouldering fire. It is really astonishing that the authorities who had bitter experience about the consequences of resumption of such lands in Midnapore in 1799, forgot all about it while they did the same thing in Khurda only 5 years after. The Vice-President in council in a letter dated the 15th March 1799 censured the Board for the 'injudicious system of conduct persued in the management of Paikan lands (39). Still the authorities committed the same blunder over again and precipitated a crisis.

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35. Toynbee, op. cit., pp. 42-45.
36. Trowr's report, op. cit.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Bengal District Gazetter, Midnapore, p. 44.

These are, in short, the defects in the early British Revenue administration which was as disavantageous to the authorities as it was ruinous to the people of Orissa.

Effects of salt Monopoly on the People of Orissa.

The salt monopoly introduced in Orissa was one of many grievances of the people against the early English administration in Orissa. A lot of correspondence passed between the authorities on the subject with a view to ascertain how far the grievances of the people in this matter were genuine. The ultimate finding in the matter was that as would be evident from the discussion.

Orissa being on the sea-board, salt manufacture was one of its most flourishing industries. Orissa salt was of very fine quality, and it found a ready market in the neighbouring States, like Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. In words of Stiriling. "In this wild inhospitable tract however the finest salt of all India is manufactured ...." (40). During the Maratha rule, there was no restriction on the manufacture of and trade in this commodity. The State income from this source consisted of land revenue assessed on the salt lands and the sair duty collected on salt in transit, salt was quite cheap in Orissa, and it constituted one of the chief commercial commodities exported from Orissa. During this period, salt could be purchased for 3 to 4 annas per maund at the place of manufacture (41). In the market it sold at a rate not exceeding 14 annas per maund, rate during the last four years of the Maratha rule being 8 to 9 annas per Calcutta maund of salt. Colonel Harcourt, who was appointed as one of the Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack after the conquest of Orissa, observed in 1804, "the price of salt in Cuttack seldom exceeded 14 annas the Calcutta maund (42). Mr. Melville, who was appointed as Joint Commissioner with Colonel Harcourt, thought that price of salt never exceeded 5 annas per maund in Orissa under the Maratha Government (43). The price

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40. Stirling, An account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack, p. 5.
41. Selection from the correspondence of the settlement of Khoordah Estate in the District of Pooree, Vol. I (printed, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1879) p. 46.
42. Ibid. p. 47.
43. Ibid.

of salt, one of the essential commodities of food, under the Marathas was much less than what it was during early the British rule, the rate of salt in the market in 1817 being Rs. 3-4-0 per maund. The salt manufacture being free and unrestricted under Maratha Government, it was not only procurable at a very cheap rate and in sufficient quantity, but was exported to nighbouring territories, especially to Nagpur, in large quantities. Motte noted in 1766 that a village, probably Contillo, in Khandpara was a rendezvous of traders from Coastal regions of Orissa and those from Central India in the months from January to April, where the traders from Orissa exchanged salt for cotton goods. So, brisk trade in salt was carried on the Maratha period.

The English with their keen commercial outlook and vast experience in the line were at once impressed with the possibilities and bright prospects of salt industry in Orissa. So they wasted no time in introducing the salt monopoly in the Northern Division of Cuttack, that is, the portion of Orissa lying to the north of the river Mahanadi. At first, it appears, S. Ker, Collector of Balasore, acted as Superintendent of Salt. In 1806, a Salt Agency for Northern Division of Cuttack was created, and James King was appointed as the Salt Agent and was placed under the control of the Salt Department of the Board of Trade, Fort William. In the year 1814, the salt monopoly was extended to the Southern Division. Three years after this extension came the crisis of 1817 which necessitated a thorough investigation into the causes of the grievances of the people of Orissa, one of which was about the enhancement of the price of salt and its scarcity.

In his report of 3 May 1817 pertaining to the complaints of the people relating to salt, Mr. Trower, Collector of Cuttack, wrote to the Secretary. Board of Revenue, that the cry for salt was general; it could not be purchased by the poor people owing to its high price, the rich could not procure it on accounts of scarcity and that merchants sold salt at much higher rate than that fixed by the Government. Though he could not give his opinion as to how far complaints were founded en real facts, he stated that he could procure with the greatest difficulty sufficient salt for the daily consumption of his camp (44). If the Collector of the District could procure his requirement of salt with "the greatest difficulty", there can be hardly

44. Ms. Volume (Judicial Department) No. 15-A, pp. 233-34.

any room for doubt that the complaint of the people relating to the scarcity of salt was real and not exaggerated or imaginary, as the Salt Agent sought to explain it away.

The Governor General in Council called for a report from the Board of Trade on the grievances of the people relating to the scarcity and the enhanced price of salt. The Board, in their turn, wanted a report from C. Becher, Salt Agent, Cuttack. Mr. Becher submitted a report on the subject in his letter (45), dated 8th May 1817 addressed to T. Plowden, Secretary, Board of Trade. He sought to impress upon the Board that the complaints relating to salt were without foundation. In support of this contention, he put forth the following facts and arguments.

(1) The average sale of salt in Orissa in the last three years amounted to 1,51,035 mds, which provided for 5,37,013 souls at half a chhatack per annum. The agerage retail price of salt in the district was Rs. 3-4-0 per maund, and at that rate, the annual expenditure of an individual would amount to 14 annas and 7 pies. So he could not believe that there was any scarcity, or there could be any griefance on account of high price.

(2) The real grievance, in his opinion, was due to discontent among the village headmen, who formerly monopolised the salt trade and lost heavily on account of the salt monopoly of the Government.

(3) The price of salt current in Orissa was almost half of that prevailing in Bengal. In vew of this, the grievance of the people could not be considered a real one, unless the current rate was compared with that prevailing prior to extension of monopoly.

These were the main arguments of Mr. Becher by which he tried to cover a very genuine and distressing grievance of the people. The Board of Trade too in their report, dated 27 May 1817, to the Governor General in Council on the matter (46) did not make any intelligent comment on the views of the Salt Agent. They concurred with the Agent's opinion that the insurection in Cuttack could not be attributed to the price of salt, or difficulty of

45. Ibid, pp. 127-38.

46. Ibid, pp. 121-26.

obtaining it. They, however, could not appreciate the argument of the Salt Agent, that since the price of salt in Orissa was almost half of that prevailing in Bengal, the people of Orissa could have no cause for complaint in regard to its enhanced price.

H. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government, in his letter of the 30th August 1817 conveyed the observations of the Vice-President in Council on the above reports to the Board of Trade (47). Though the Vice President was disposed to agree with the opinion expresed by the Board that the causes of the insurrection in the District of Cuttack were in all probability, wholly unconnected with the high price of salt and the difficulty of procuring that article, he however observed that the report of the Salt Agent was not sufficient or detailed to enable the Government to form a clear judgement in regard to the degree in which the operations of the Salt Department might have calculated to curtail the comforts of the people. As regards population of the District he remarked that the estimate of the Salt Agent was too low. Mr. Richardson, one of the late Commissioners, had estimated the population of Orissa at 15,00,000 souls. Even after making sufficient allowance for over estimate, Mr. Becher's estimate would appear too low. Regarding Mr. Becher's opinion that half a chattack of salt per day was sufficient for a man's daily consumption, the Vice President remarked that in Bengal it was a little more than the quantity estimated by Mr. Becher. The quantity of food ordinarily in use among the inhabitants of Orissa was such as to render necessary the consumption of more than usual quantity of salt. From this point of view he considered Mr. Becher's estimate as rather low. The Vice President did not accept the view of Mr. Becher that the salt monopoly only hit hard the village headmen who had monopolised salt trade before the British rule. He believed that the price of salt, prior to the introduction of the monopoly, was extremely low, hence people might be supposed to have suffered from the effects of the monopoly. He thought that the price of salt in Orissa was too rapidly raised; a sudden increase in price of an essential commodity of food like salt could scarcely fail to create considerable distress to the people. The enhanced price of salt, the Vice-President was of opinion, was due to the intermediate agencies through which the commodity passed before it reached the consumer. As a remedy against this defect, he suggested that steps should be taken to increase the number of sales depots so that the consumer might

47. Ibid, pp. 155-67.

obtain without difficulty his supplies from the public stores; that would considerably bring down the price. He further observed, that too rigid enforcement of rules to prevent illicit traffic in salt would prove vexatious to the people with little advantage to the public revenue.

The Vice-President's observations were very practical and designed to alleviate the rigour of the system of salt monopoly. He rightly pointed out that Mr. Becher's estimate of the population of Orissa at a rough figure of five and half lakhas was too low. It was, at least, twelve lakhas if not fifteen lakhs, as estimated by Mr. Richardson. Mr. Ewer, after a detailed calculation, estimated the population of the Mughalbandi area of Orissa to be 11 lakhs excluding the area of Ali, Kujang and Kanika (48). Besides, about a lakh of pilgrims on an average came to Puri each year. Taking these facts into consideration the population of Orissa, according to Ewer, would be more than 12 lakhs. Calculating the consumption of salt at the rate of half a chhatack per day per head, the quantity of salt required for Orissa would amount to at least $3\frac{1}{3}$ lakhs of maunds a year (49). If a little more than half a chhatack is allotted per head per day, as suggested by the Vice President, the quantity required for internal consumption each year would amount roughly to about 4,00,000 maunds. The sale of salt in Orissa during the year 1811 to 1816 amounted approximately to 1,35,457 maunds on the average per year (50). So, there was shortage of more than 2 lakhs of maunds of salt required for the consumption of the people of Orissa. When salt was not provided for about 2/3 of the population, it was quite natural for the people of Orissa to grumble about the scarcity of salt, and there can be no doubt about the fact that their complaint was real.

It would be intersting to note that annual average sale of salt during the years 1814, 1815 and 1816 amounted to 1,50,914 maunds, and export to Salkia during the same period amounted to 3,83,107 maunds (51). So when the people of Orissa were going without salt, this most essential commodity of food was exported to

48. Selections from the corespondence on the settlement of Khoordah Estate in the District of Puri, Vol. No. I, pp. 50-51
49. Ibid, p. 52.
50. Ms. Vol. No. 25-A, p. 127.
51. Ms. Vol. (Salt Department) No. 46, p. 53.

Bengal. It was because to export to Bengal was more lucrative than internal sale. The exported salt was sold at Rs. 350 per 100 maunds, that is, Rs. 3-8-0 per maund (52); in Orissa the price of salt was fixed at Rs. 2 per maund. It cost Government twelve annas only for manufacture of one maund of salt in Orissa (53). Thus the Government got only Rs. 1-4-0 per maund in Orissa while they received Rs. 2-12-0 on each maund of exported salt. Allowing sufficient margin for wastage and cost of transportation, external trade in salt seemed more profitable than internal sale. Since the Salt Agent himself was receiving a commission on the amount of sale in addition to his pay, the export of salt from Orissa was both in interest of the Company and the Salt Agent, though it was painfully distressing to the people of Orissa.

From what has been said, it would appear clear that the introduction of salt monopoly in Orissa was highly detrimental to the interests of the people of Orissa, especially of the poor classes. The price of salt abnormally shot up to about eight times that prevailing under the Marathas, and over and above, it became scarce in the market owing to impudence of the authorities who looked more to their own interest than to those of the people under their rule. In the circumstances, it is no wonder that the people of Orissa should vehemently agitate against the system that was so distressing and oppressive to them.

Lastly, the facts stated above go to show how hastily the English administration was established in Orissa without proper study of the background as observed at the outset, and how Government interests only were cared for, at the cost of public comfort and peace.

Depreciation in the value of cowry currency.

Cowry currency was prevalent in Orissa in very olden days. Though in the present state of our knowledge we can not say definitely when and under what circumstances it came into use in Orissa, we can say with certainty that it was in use as far back as 8th-9th century A. D. when the Bhaumas were ruling over Utkala (54). Since that time, if not earlier, it was always prevalent in Orissa till the British came.

52. Ibid.
53. Ibid. p, 51.
54 Misra, Orissa under Bhauma Kings, p. 92.

We do not know what was the relation between Silver and Cowry during Bhauma, Kesari, Ganga or the Gajapati rule in Orissa. According to Tavernier who visited India in the middle of the 17th century 80 cowries were exchanged for a paisa in the coastal region. Calculating on that basis, one rupee was equivalent to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ Kahanas of Cowry. According to Hamilton (1727) one rupee was exchanged for 2500 (1 Kahan $15\frac{1}{4}$ Panas) to 3000 (2 Kahanas $5\frac{1}{2}$ panas) Cowries (55). Under the Marathas the rate of exchange between cowries and silver rupee fluctuated from three to four Kahans per das masha rupee (56).

After British conquest in 1803 the official rate of exchange as fixed by Regulation XII of 1805 was 4 Kahans of cowry per rupee. Thus there was slight depreciation in the value of cowry. Zamindars were given option to pay either in coin or in cowry till the year 1809 whereafter they were required to pay their revenue entirely in coin (57). In 1811 copper coinage was introduced. These two measures on the part of the British authorities had immediate effect of depreciating the value of cowry. By 1811 the price of cowry had fallen as low as 7 Kahans per Rupee. Thus the whole monetary system of Orissa was thrown into a chaotic and confused state. People unused to copper or silver coinage found it hard to meet the demands of the Zamindars requiring them to pay in coins. Zamindars themselves failed to pay up their revenues in coins. The money-lenders lent money to the needy Zamindars at an advance of 70 to 80 per cent on the Government rate of exchange on account of the depreciation in the value of the cowries in the market to that extent. Thus both the rayats and the Zamindars were hard hit by sudden changes in the currency.

Depreciation in the value of cowries was stated as one of the causes of the Paik rebellion of 1817. A lot of correspondences between the authorities passed to ascertain the real truth of the complaint. These correspondences brought to light many facts, but the real effect of the new innovation in the currency system of Orissa on the poor people, as also on the Zamindars, remained unascertained. It is because the authorities had no practical experience of the economic structure of Orissa in the interior and

55. O. H. R. J. Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 8.
56. Striling, An accout of Orissa, p. 36, The weight of a masha is fixed as 15 grains. So das masha rupee was one weighing 150 grains.
57. Ibid.

the long history attached to it. They tried to solve problems on theories and statistics. They failed to observe that the poor people who constituted the bulk of the population carried on their daily transaction in cowries and copper or silver coinage for them was not at all advantageous. It may be noted that copper coinage was not a new invention of the British. It was prevalent under the Mughals and the Marathas side by side with the cowry currency. But the people were allowed to use either as they considered convenient to them. Most of the people carried on their transactions in cowries rather than in any other coinage. Thus the people were attached to the cowry currency as a matter of necessity and convenience to them. Besides by long use for centuries the system had became a part and parcel of the culture of the people of Orissa. The people were therefore not only shocked materially but also sentimentally. All these things were not taken into considerations by the authorities in their overzealousness to do away with the barbarous currency and introduce in its place their civilised one. The result was that the whole thing was in a mess for a time and the people suffered bitterly on account of chaos and confusion in the sphere of currency.

E. Watson, 4th Judge, Calcutta Court of Circuit, to W. B. Bayley, Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department.

8 May, 1817

"I take the earliest opportunity of replying to a letter from you dated the 26th and received on the 30th ultimo desiring me with reference to the existing state of affairs in Cuttack to submit to Government such information as I may have obtained on the Circuit regarding the general temper of the people and the mode in which the Civil administration of the affairs of that District has been conducted and also to state whether during my residence in Cuttack I perceived any general or partial indication of a rising spirit of disaffection in any part of the District or amongst any branch of the community.

2. I landed at Juggernauth on the 4th of January and I left that place on my return by sea to Cuttack on the 8th February last, during which time I received two visits from the Rajah of Khoordah, and had frequent opportunities of discoursing with Zemindars and other natives both at Juggernauth and Cuttack on the general state of the District, and you will do me the favour to acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council that the whole of the causes of complaint noticed in the instructions of Government to the Magistrate under date the 11th of April last except the 4th regarding salt which I did not then hear spoken of were repeatedly communicated to me in the course of conversation with natives who had lands or resided in various parts of the District. And to one at all conversant with their usages or habits of thinking and with the general appearance of the Country, it must I think have been discoverable that the people were aggrieved, and that there was no want of inclination to throw of their allegiance whenever a favourable opportunity might occur.

3. It will simplify such information as I can afford to take the grounds of disaffection in the people in the order laid down by Government.

4. The Individuals with whom I conversed at different times spoke the sentiments I think of all the ancient landed proprietors, and gave to the best of my judgement the true state of all the respectable native interests, of all indeed that remained for antient credit and consideration in the District. Almost all the lands have from time to time been alienated from the antient landed proprietors whose natural influence might and would restrain and repress any seditious movement, and thro' whose medium alone a distracted Province might be quieted and settled. Many of these patrimonial Estates have passed into the hands of absolute strangers, for the greater part non-residents, who have but a remote and secondary feeling for the true interests of the District. Many are under Khass management, the greatest of all possible evils, for every attempt at minute and local detail by the public officers of Government on the one hand, with an expatriated landed interest on the other, must necessarily end in loss of revenue, imbecility and oppression. In the Estates under Khass management the ryots were very far from being at ease. It was impossible that they should, because it is impossible to prevent great abuse and disorder where the people are made over to the hands of Suzawuts (sequestrators) and other subordinate native officers of Revenue. General discontent consequently prevailed among the peasantry of the Khass Mehals, and the vicissitudes in the transfer of property where the lands were not held Khass, had generally disturbed that uniform and uninterrupted prosperity of the cultivators of the soil by which alone an adequate remuneration can ever be made to Government for the sums expended in their protection. There cannot be a stronger proof of the distress of a Country from a failure of the means of subsistence, than frequent and numerous applications to the Court either on behalf of the Collector or the Landholders for the confinement of the under-tenantry and peasantry for balances. I cannot venture to trust my memory with the exact number of peasants for whose caption and imprisonment a motion was made to the Court on behalf of the Collector on one single occasion, but as represented to me by the Zillah Judge the number was so great as to stagger belief and what end was proposed to be answered by this measure. It could not be revenue, a gaol is not the place to look to for that—nor it was to prevent the escape of the people who were flying in crowds out of the Country.

(a) The Extensive sales of land which have taken place since the period of our acquisition of the District.

(b) The constant fluctuation of the assessment under the present system of Temporary Settlements.

5. To this cause the ruinous fluctuations in property which have taken place throughout Cuttack are chiefly ascribable. A variable Jumma increasing as the lands improve, takes from the landed proprietor the legitimate reward of his own industry; and as he gains nothing by the increase of the produce of the soil, it becomes his direct interest to leave as much of his Estate uncultivated as he safely can for the chance of a perpetual settlement at a fixed assessment the standard of which is to be determined by the actual produce of the lands in cultivation at the time. This in part accounts for so large a portion of Cuttack being a dreary waste, and for the miserable poverty and wretchedness of the people. According to the native computation the proportion of uncultivated and unproductive land was estimated to me at 7 annas in the Rupee, or nearly a moiety of the whole District. The entire income of the landed proprietors under the system which has prevailed for the last 12 years has been absorbed in revenue—succeeding years held out to him no prospect of comfort and independence to himself and his family to reward his labour. The lands were cultivated for the sole benefit of the Government. The landholder had no income, while the advanced assessment necessarily increased the debt upon the Estate. Then it was that the ryots were crushed by the multipled demands of contending claims. The oppressive exactions of the landholder and his creditors were met by the servile concealment and petty fraud of the peasants, and this again called forth violent and despotic coercion, till not a trace of humanity or feeling was to be found. The ryots being thus left without the ability of supplying their wants, and the landholders reduced from comparative affluence to misery and poverty, the lands are in the end exposed to sale, (if the Jumma is above 5,000 Rupees, at the office of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in Calcutta, and if below that Jumma at the Office of the Collector of the District) for balances of revenue, and unless the private claims of the creditors have been already preferred to the public demands, the creditors also are involved in the ruin of the landholder by the loss of the whole debt and interest when the Estate is publicly sold. To cover this risk, the premium taken by money dealers on loans when I was at Cuttack was from 25 to 36 per cent, besides compound monthly interest where land was made over in mortgage as security for the payment of the debt. Such has been the effect of the system of temporary settlements. By such sacrifices the revenue has probably been rendered productive to an extent which could not possibly have been accomplished by any other means. But it is at

the same time to be remembered with regret that Estate after Estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the Province, that distress has been accumulated by the debasement and degradation of the people, and that a valuable community permanently useful has been sacrificed to a temporary revenue.

6. The landholders are bound to receive their rents in cowries at the fixed exchange of four Kahwuns for the rupee. The public Revenue is demanded from them in Silver, and each rupee they pay into the Collector's Treasury costs them at the fluctuating exchange of the day from 6 to 7 Kahwuns. This was complained of by the landholders as a very grievous hardship. I am not sufficiently informed why the ryots have the exclusive previlege of paying at a fixed rate of exchange. But the depression of the price of cowries by which the Zemindars suffer, has been chiefly ccoasioned by the excess of cowries imported into the Province to pay the labourers employed on the new road to Juggurnauth, and there would I conceive be little difficulty in adopting measures which might be calculated in the opinion of Government to meet this exigency, and at the same time to withdraw the redundancy of cowries from the market.

(c) The heavy loss to which Zemindars are subject from the depreciation of the price of Courries.

7. I have not the means of furnishing Government with any information in this subject.

(d) The enhanced price of salt and the difficulty of obtaining it even at an advanced price.

8. This is a point which cannot be fairly discussed without personal controversy. I should be sorry to enter the lists on this occasion, and still more so to give a decided opinion on the propriety of the mode of proceeding which has been adopted without hearing all that could be said in favour of it, as well as what the parties who suppose themselves grieved have to urge in support of their claims. But I consider it my duty thus called upon to submit the accompanying petitions from the Rajah of Khoordah with an English translation for such consideration as they may appear to Government to merit. The petition marked (A) was presented to me by the Rajah when I was at Juggernauth, and the one marked (B) I received by the post, at my own house, in the first week of April. The

(e) The Rigour with which the payment of the land revenue is exacted.

treatment of the Rajah, every injury to whom is from the sacredness of his character felt by the people as done to themselves, may I think be considered as a cause, perhaps a main one of the disturbances in Khoordah. The Rajah told me that he had several thousand dependants in a state of muting for subsistence, and the means contrived of enforcing the demand of arrears on his Estate of Limbye by stopping the malikanah of Khoordah, and estimating the strength of the ryots of Khoordah by the burthens which they could bear from the hands of subordinate tyrants, may perhaps not unreasonably account for the atrocities which have since been committed in that Pergunnah. But I hope that the personal conduct of the Rajah, whatever his own feelings may have been, has not from the passion of a moment, or from temporary distress, or from any other illigetimate cause, given countenance to these atrocities. His arzeee to me about the time of the commencement of the disturbances marked (B) and his visit in camp to Captain L. Fevre, may perhaps be intended by him as a refutation of any such charge; and if ever there was a person who could have interest in disturbances, but every thing to lose by them, it was this Rajah, who was fixed at the head of his religion ln his hereditary office in the Temple, had a suitable provision secured to him for the maintenance of himself and his dependants, and if any unfounded or unjust requisitions were made upon him had only to represent them to Government and they would have been redressed. I hope I have not entertained erroneous ideas on this subject, or that the attempt to plead the cause of distress against power will be considered disreputable. The Collector was I hope guided in his conduct towards the Rajah by every principle of public duty which ought to have influenced and which no doubt did influence him on this occasion but the impolicy of pressing the Rajah of Khoordah beyond ability of either himself or his peoplo, supposing him to have had no strict right to a quit-rent either for Khoordah or Limbye at the old Peishkush, cannot I think be defended—I entertain also great doubts of the policy as well as the legality of the officers of Government interfering with the interior economy of the temple of Juggurnauth, and really think that a Collector of the land revenue is the most improper of all persons to be keeper of the Idol's wardrobe. It appears to me to be a shameful and insulting mockary of their own idolatrous superstition that an European Public Officer should have any interference or control in such matters as the airing of the Idol's wardrobe and if the wardrobe itself had been robbed or pillaged, it was manifestly the duty of the

Magistrate on complaint, and not the Collector to detect and punish the thief or bring him to punishment before the established Criminal Courts as in every other case of larceny where there is a property either absolute or qualified.

That the demands against the zemindars generally are not enforced with all the indulgence and forbearance which might reasonably be granted to them, or which is even consonant with their just rights, it is sufficient for me to instance that they do not receive timely notice of the period fixed for the sale of their lands for balances. By section 26, Resolution 14, 1793, publication of the notice of such sales is to be fixed up in the Court Room of the Dewanny Adawlut of the Zillah for a term not less than one month before the sale takes place, but it happened to fall within my own personal observation and knowledge at the time I was at Cuttack, that when a sale of almost every Estate in the District was fixed for the 3rd of February last, tho' only for a part of the demands of the year, and this at a time of unprecedented distress and hardship in consequence of the irruption of the Pindarries, the publication of the notice of this General sale was not sent to be fixed up in the Court Room till the day before "all further payments of balances due from the lands" which were to be sold at the office of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue were declared to be no longer receivable into Collector's Treasury. I had occasion to bring this infringement of the Regulations under the consideration of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and a circular order has been since passed which will secure to the landholders their just rights in future as far as they are affected by the timely publication of the notice of public sales.

(f) The disappointment experienced at the postponement of the Permanent Settlement.

9. The Establishment of permanent rules upon principles of moderation and Justice whereby the rents and services of the Zemindars and other land-holders are in future to be paid and rendered, is of such vital importance to the true interests of Government, as well as to the happiness and prosperity of their native subjects in Cuttack, that it requires no comment. The labour of the people thus assisted and encouraged would very soon be highly productive as well to themselves as to the Government, and of this they are sensibly and feelingly aware. It is a permanent settlement alone which can correct the prevailing abuses in the internal detail of the collections, repress disorders by the personal influence of the landholders, give vigour and energy to the Law,

protect and shelter the landed interests of the Province from utter extirpation and ruin, and restrain extravagant and fruitless speculations of public Officers founded on the most fallacious and mischievous of all theories, that of the territorial resources being improved and augmented by means of minute examinations and vexatious local investigations into the actual value of the lands. But should the boon of a perprtual settlement not be granted to the people of Cuttack, great exertions would be made by self-interest, the most powerful of all wealth would be generated and encouraged, by a settlement of the Province for a long term such as 15 or 20 years, and perhaps at no period has it been practicable to carry into effect this desirable measure with so much ease and advantage to the Government, as at present.

10. As connected with the subject of this address I must beg leave in addition to the specific causes of complaint noticed by Government to bring under the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council the injury which has been done to the Ferries in Cuttack.

11. There is nothing perhaps which can tend more to render a Country rich, fertile and productive, than the general improvement of roads and ferries where there are no bridges, as more effectually opening a communication and intercourse between one part of the country and the other. But Government must begin by maintaining ferries, before ferries can benefit the Government, and money expended instead of received is here the true road to economy. The Maharattas seem to have been so sensible of this, that they granted jageers for their support. As only two of these ferries came within the scope of my own personal observation it may be sufficient that I should confine my remarks to them without speaking of the rest. At these ferries two large rivers are crossed, the Mahanuddy and Kutjooree. The land granted and secured by way of jageer for the support of the Mahanuddy ferry, by the Maharatta Government amounted to 12 Bhattys or 240 Begahs according to my information; and the grant for the maintenance of the Kutjooree ferry was 10 Bhattys or 200 Begahs. The acceptance of these grants bound the owners of the ferries to keep boats for the public good, these boats were provided by the owners themselves, the ferry was not to be suppressed, the troops and public Officers and stores were crossed free of toll as well as pilgrims and the poorer class of the people, but the Grantees had liberty to accept

reasonable toll for the carriage of other men as well as cattle. Under the Grants thus assigned by the Maharatta Government the ferries flourished, the boats were by for the best that I ever saw in any part of India, they were decked and capable of crossing several elephants, carriages and palanquins together. They must have been built at considerable cost, and kept up at a very great expense. All the purposes of a ferry as a common highway were amply and fully answered under this arrangement. The ferry men themselves were contented and happy and no complaints whatever were heard from any quarter. But as if to execute a punishment for this enviable state of things, most of the land secured by these grants, has under the name of resümption been confiscated. I am told that only 16 Bhattees or 320 Begahs are now left, and the Collector in his letter in reply to my enquiries informs me that "whether these also will be assessed is not yet determined." The grantee being thus deprived of the benefits of his grant, tho' I do not find that it was ever formally adjudged forfeited a settlement for the lands is concluded with the mullahs or ferrymen, the revenues fail, and the lands are publicly sold for balances. One would suppose that the policy and prudence of the measure must at least have actuated the local officer in recommending to Government the resumption of these grants, and indeed formed no small part of the question of forfeiture that there might have been no strict legal right in the party claiming under them, but on the contrary, the forfeiture of these rights has been as injurious to the Government and to the public as to the individual sufferers. The ferries may comparatively with their former flourishing condition be said to be suppressed, and they would have been quite so, had the rates of toll which the collector proposed under Regulation 19, 1816 been actually established. These rates were not only unreasonable but oppressive. A man crossing the river to cut a load of wood on the opposite side, must according to the rates have paid a pun of cowries for crossing, and for recrossing with his load he must have paid two puns more, and thus his load of wood have actually cost him three puns before he got it to the market. But as one of these loads of wood at present sells for three puns, the price ef wood must have been exactly doubled to afford him the same return for his labour which he now recieves. An Elephant crossing the river for his Charah for the day and returning, would cost according to these rates 2 Rupees or 60 Rupees per mensem exclusive of the ordinary charges of his feed and attendants. But the fact is, there should be no minute interference of the Collector in regulating rates of toll,

and indeed the collusion between the Magistrate and Collector throughout the whole of Regulation 19, 1816 renders the Regulation itself a dead letter. I have not heard that it has been carried into execution anywhere, and do not believe it ever can; all that is necessary is that the Toll should be reasonable, that is, what has been hitherto usually or voluntarly given, and that exacting what is unreasonable, as well as suppressing the ferry or not keeping a proper number of safe and commodious boats where a grant of the ferry has been accepted, should be punishable by the Magistrate on complaint and conviction. If a revenue is at any time expected from ferries the least exceptionable means of obtaining it would be a stamp duty on the grant, to the annual amount of the Tax which the Government might think it proper to impose in each case. The double authority under Regulation 19, 1816 of the provisions of that Regulation should ever be enforced, will fix and perpetuate abuses where they exist, frustrate all hope of public benefit, be injurious to private interests, and excite general disquietude and alarum by pressing too hard on the necessities of the people. I beg to lay before Government a correspondence which passed between the Collector and the Magistrate of Cuttack on the first and only attempt that has been made to introduce that Regulation into Cuttack. This attempt feeble as it was had excited so strong a sensation in the minds of the people that I found it necessary to call for the correspondence with the view of disposing of it in such manner as might afterwards appear to me most effectual, and I take this occasion of submitting it to the notice of Government.

12. No irregularities or abuses in the practical adminstration of the Civil affairs of Cuttack as connected with the general question on which my sentiments are required have come to my knowledge beyond what I have above submitted.

13. I hope I need not apologize for the style of any part of this address. The facts and observations which have been drawn from me and which I should not have presumed to intrude upon the wisdom of Government unless expressly called for, are so much more important than the style, that I confess my sole object has been to impart them in the most intelligible manner within the reach of my limited ability.

Report of W. B. Bayley, Acting Chief Secretary to Government, regarding Cuttack.

10th August, 1817

In the beginning of the month of April last, Government received intelligence from the Magistrate of Cuttack, that a body of 400 men denominated Kunds or Choors inhabitants of Goomsur in Ganjam had entered the pergunnah of Khoorda in the district of Cuttack, in here they had been joined by Jagabandoo Roy and a large body of people under his influence (1); that they had burned the Police Thanah, plundered the Treasury of the Tehsildar, and comitted other acts of outrage in that pergunnah.

Although the information furnished by the Magistrate of Cuttack was not such as to establish any direct participation on the part of the Rajah (2) of Khoorda in the violent proceedings of the insurgents, it was calculated to excite a strong suspicion that the Rajah was indirectly concerned in fomenting the existing distrubances and it appeared to Government to be under any circumstances inexpedient to permit him to remain at Jugannath, where his presence was likely to facilitate the objects of the insurgents, and to encourage a disposition to oppose the authority of Government, and the Magistrate was accodingly authorized to remove the Rajah from Jugannath, and if necessary to send him under a safe escort to Calcutta. Circumstances connected with the course of military operation prevented the execution of this measure until the 11th May last, when the Rajah was removed to Cuttack, where he still remains in consequence of the state of the roads in the season of the periodical rains, and the difficulty of sparing troops to escort him to Calcutta.

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(1) The extensive influence possessed by Jagabandhoo Roy in the pergunnah Khoorda was from the nature of the office which he held during Marahatta Government of Commander of the Paiks or Native Militia of the Rajah of Khoordah.

(2) The persevering resistance opposed by the Raja of Khoorda and his adherents to troops after the conquest of Cutttck, late to the seizure of his person and his confinement at Midnapore. He was released in the year 1807, and restored to his office of Superintendent of the temple of Jagannath where he has since resided, but he had refused to enter into engagements for his Estates of Khoorda.

In the mean time the little success with which the operations of the Military detachment in Khoordah have been attended, and their subsequent retreat from that Pergunnah having augmented the confidence of the insurgents and diffused more widely the spirit of disaffection, Government deemed it necessary to vest the Magistrate with a discretional auhority te proclaim Martial Law (1) in Khoorda, and in any other parts of Cuttack in which that measure might be neccssary for the restoration of tranquillity, and to offer rewards for the apprehension of the ringleaders. In the mean time measures had been adopted by the Commander-in-Chief for reinforcing the troops in Cuttack, and with reference to the progress of the insurrection and to other circumstances it was deemed expedient to place the troops in Cuttack under the separate command of an officer of high rank to whom the delicate trust of administering Martial Law might be likewise confided. Major General Sir G. Martindell having accordingly been nominated to this command under the title of Commissioner proceeded to Cuttack, at which place he arrived on the 6th of May.

On the 15th of that month he quitted Cuttack and entered Khoorda, where he has since directed the movements and operations of the troops, and has adopted other measures with the view of apprehending the ringleaders of the disturbance and of restoring tranquillity.

After this short review of the principal measures adopted for suppressing the late disturbances, it will be convenient to notice generally the local limits within which the distrurbances have principally prevailed, as well as those to which they have from time to time partially extended themselves. With this I have carefully examined the several dispatches recieved from the Magistrate and have referred to such Maps as I could procure.

It is to be regretted however, that a large tract of country to the south of the Mahonuddee has not been surveyed and that the chief scene of the disorders appears in consequence nearly a blank in the Map. It has been already noticed that the insurrection commenced in Khoorda, an extensive Purgunnah thinly inhabited,

(1) Under these instructions Martial Law was proclaimed in Khoorda on the 14th April last, and subsequently in Piply, Limbaye, Jugannath and Khoatdes on the 19th of April.

and abounding with thick jungles, and uncultivated wastes. To the south and west, it is situated near boundary of the district of Ganjam, and in the vicinity of that extensive tract of country in Ganjam denominated Goomsur, which for some time past has been in a state of open resistance to the local authority in the Ganjam district.

The report furnished to this Government by the Collector of Ganjam on the state of Goomsur, exhibits many features of resemblance in the character of the disturbances respectively prevailing in Goomsur and in Khoorda.

The families of the two Rajahs (as well as of Jugabandhoo and of the principal servant of the Rajah of Goomsur) are allied by marriage and the two Rajahs have both been deprived of the management of their respective Estates for contumacy or other misconduct.

Their principal native officers, including the Establishment of Paiks or native local Militia, are the persons actively engaged in resisting the Government. The fort commanders of this class of people are respectively the leaders of the rebellion on both Pergunnahs, and there are sufficient grounds to infer that the leading object of these people was the restoration of the hereditary proprietors of the Estates to their former power and influence. The disorder which so long prevailed in the pergunnah of Bogree and Rypore in Midnapore as well as those now prevailing in Kemmedy and Mohury in the District of Ganjam, exhibits precisely the same features, and whatever injuries, real or supposed, may have contributed to excite or to extend the disturbances in question, the leading object and chief cause of them appear to have been nearly the same in all. In all of them too, the nature of the country and the terror inspired by the outrage of the Paiks have proved the principal obstacles to the reestablishment of tranquillity.

The disturbances in Cuttack did not extend beyond the limit of Khoorda until after the ··· of the several detachments which had first proceeded into it. The entire failure of the first measure, adopted with a view to coercion, naturally emboldened the insurgents and they were in consequence enabled to extend their outrage to other Estates, and to excite and encourage the dissatisfied or illdisposed inhabitants of those Estates in the prosecution of a similar course of proceeding.

It accordingly appears from the Magistrate's letter of the 7th, 10th and 15th of April last that various outrages were soon afterwards committed in Limbaee (1), Piply (2) and Khoatdes (3) either by parties of the insurgents from Khoorda or by the Paiks belonging to the several Estates and places above specified. During the start period in which the Khoorda insurgents retained possession of Jugannath(4), they donot appear to have been joined by inhabitants, and thus retreat from the place in consequence of the arrival of a detachment under Captain Le Fevre was followed by the immediate restoration of tranquillity in that quarter.

The following extract from letters addressed to Government by Mr. Impey, the Magistrate under the date the 5th and 11th May last, regarding the general state of affairs in the district at that period, correspond with the tenor of the feregoing remarks.

5 th May

"I have the honour to report for the information of His "Lordship in Council, that since my letter of the 29th Ultimo. "I have been enabled most satisfactorily to ascertain, that the whole "of this District to the northward of the Mahanaddy is in a state of "perfect tranquillity, and that the inhabitants are ploughing the "land and otherwise employed in their peaceful avocations. "The illdisposed persons, who were emboldened by the retreat "from Poory to commit outrage and to evince a disregard of "the Civil Power have dispersed. Some have been apprehended "and the Police is actively employed in apprehending "all persons implicated. Measures have also been adopted for "reinstating the Zumeedars who were dispossessed by the former "Proprietors, and for seizing the persons of the Khunditees "concerned in these violent proceedings. The Rajah of Coojung is on "his way to the Station, and will arrive in the course of a day or two "when a particular investigation into his conduct will take place. "Khoorda alone is the part of the District where the authority of "Government is totally annulled."

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(1) This Estate held Khas.

(2) The property by purchase of the son of the Collector's Dewan.

(3) This Estate held Khas.

(4) The zemindaree of Jugannath or Pursottom Chutr has been purchased by a person named Kisen Chander Sing.

11th May.

"Nothing further has transpired attaching suspicion to "the Rajah of Ranpoore, and every intelligence obtained by me "tends to confirm my opinion, that none of the Ghur Jhaut Rajahs "have afforded assistance to Jugbundoo and the Rebels. I have "pleasure in reporting that the peace of the District has not "undergone any interruption since my last address, and that the "Police is again resuming it's accustomed efficacy throughout the "late disturbed parts of the distaict the territory of Khoordah alone "excepted".

The intrigues of Jugbundoo to exicite disaffection and rebellion in the tributary Mehauls appear to have entrely failed, The Rajah of Ranpoore is the only person of that class whose conduct has sppeared to be equivocal, and there in no proof of his having actually assisted the rebels in Khoorda, or of his having resolved on resisting the authority of Government. Since the 15th of May last the disposeable force in Cuttack has been employed in Khoorda in destroying the stockades, fortified passes and villages, in dispersing the insurgents wherever they were assembled in any considerable parties, in opening roads through the Jungles, and in making arrangements for the shelter of such part of the troops as it was proposed to station within the Purgunnah of Khoordah during the rains. These and other messures adopted by Major General Martindell, coupled with the protection afforded by the troops, have induced many of the inhabitants of Khoordah who had quitted their villages to return to their former habitations and pursuits.

A considerable number of the Paiks have been killed, and others have voluntarily returned to their allegiance. Those who are still in arms have retired to remote parts in the Jungles, where it is impracticable to pursue them at this advanced period of the season but from which they sally forth when opportunities offer for the purpose sf attacking the inhabitants of villages who are inimical to them or who furnish assistance or information to the Officers of Government.

Having thus briefly adverted to the past and present state of affairs in Khoordah, and the Estates or places in its vicinity in which Martial Law has been established, it remains to notice the outrages which have been committed in some other parts of the District of Cuttack.

The letters from the Magistrate of Cuttack of the 5th and 11th of May last, extracts from which are inserted in a preceding part of this report, show that at that period, the authority of Government was not openly and violently resisted in any part of the District except the Pergunnah of Khoordah, that although the retreat of Captain Wallington from Pooree, had excited a spirit of outrage and commotion in Cojeing and its vicinity, and although the former proprietors of some Estates in that quarter had with aid of the Khundytes and Paiks dispossessed the new purchasers, yet that the Civil authority was regaining its influence and that the restoration of tranquillity generally was progressive.

On the 29th and 30th of May and the 30th of July last however the Magistrate reported, that soon after Major General Martindell had entered Khoordah, a body of armed Paiks belonging to that Pergunnah, had made an irruption into the Thannah of Ghope where they were joined by the Khundytes and Paiks of Coojung and its vicinity, and committed various outrages in that part of the country. These disturbances gradually extended to the Thannahs of Turun. Hurhurpore, Arsreshur, Pyrajpore, and Patamoondy.

In most of these distrubances the Pykes of Coojung appear to have taken a principal part.

They were aided however by the Khundytes and Pykes of many Estates in the Thannahs above mentioned. They plundered the Salt Chowkee, attacked the Police Officers, forcibly evicted the new purchasers of Estates, and reinstated the former Proprietors in the possession of them.

The Magistrate strengthened these and other Police Thannahs by an additional number of Burkundasses, but the military operations then in progress in Khoordah, rendered it impracticable at that time to furnish Troops for the supression of these disorders.

Detachments have been since ordered to Coojung and Ghope and their presence will probably prevent further excesses.

Whether the Rajah of Koojung has encouraged the Paiks of his Estate to commit these outrages appears at present doubtful. His intention to proceed to Cuttack, as reported in the Magistrate's letter of the 5th of May, was not carried into effect

in consequence, as was then supposed by the Magistrate, of the compulsatory interference of the Chief Servants and Pykes on his Estate.

Coojung is not one of the Tributary Mehals, but the Rajah holds his Estate on a fixed annual quitrent in perpetuity.

In the various reports submitted by the Magistrate regarding these disturbances the Khundytes and Paiks are alone mentioned as being actively concerned in the outrages, and it is probable that they have been instigated to commit acts of violence by the former proprietors of Estates, and that their chief object has been to restore those proprietors to their former possessions. The Magistrate has specifically noticed, that the new purchasers of the following Estates, many of which are very extensive, have been dispossessed.

Bulrampore, Boorakura and Talpuddda were purchased by Officers on the Establishment of the Zillah Court. BULRAMPORE BOORAKURA TALPUDDA

Roopasoo was purchased by Kishenmohun Choodhree. ROOPASOO

Murrechpore, Hurrishpore and Golra are Jungle Estates included in the special provisions of Section 35, Regulation 12, 1805. MURRECHPORE HURRISHPORE & GOLRA

Unless the Khundytes and Paiks are actuated by Natives of this nature, it is not easy te assign any probable ground for their being the active Agents in the recent disturbances. By the provisions of Regulation 13, 1805, the possession of the land assigned by the former Government for the maintenance of the Khundites and Paiks, was secured to them on the same terms as heretofore and special rules were enacted for rendering their services available in maintaining an efficient Police, and for preventing their being removed from their offices without sufficient cause.

The Magsstrate has not stated that this class of people complain of having been deprived of their lands, or of having suffered from the exactions of the Zameendars or Police Officers, except in Khoorda in which Pergunnah it is specifically asserted

as well by the Magistrate as by Sir G. Martindell, that their lands have been brought on the public assessment at the same rates as those paid by the other cultivators of the soil.

The same course however may possibly have been pursued in other parts of the District, and the subject is one which merits the early and serious attention of the local officers.

Of the places mentioned in the foregoing part of this report there are several which I have been unable to trace in any of the Maps to which I have had access. Amongst those which I cannot find, the following are the most important. Khoatdes, Limbaee, Runpore, Kunka, Bulrampore, Boorakera, the Thannahs of Teerun and Paharajepoor.

The following remarks however will facilitate a reference to the Map, with regard to some of the Principal places lying to the South of Mahanuddi. The Thannah of Piply is situated on the high road from Cuttack to Jugernath, about midway between those places. The Thannahs of Teerun and Ghope, together with the extensive Estates of Khotades and Coojung embrace the greater part of the tracts of country lying between Jugannath and the mouth of the Mahanudee, and stretching along to a distance of 20 or 30 miles from the Sea Coast and they include the Estates of Hurrishpore, Murreschpore, Golra, Roopasoo, Purrooah and Talpudda. The Thannahs of Patamoondy, Assuressurs, Paharajpore, the Salt Stations of Runnooah, Bakood, and Astrung, the Estates of Hurryhurpoor and Bularampore appear to be situated to the northward of the Mahanuddy or in its immediate vicinity.

It has been already observed that the Paeks and Khundytes have been the active perpetrators of the outrages that have taken place, and that the body of the people whatever may be the grievances of which they may have cause to complain do not appear to have been directly concerned in openly resisting the authority of Government, though they have probably in various instances forwarded the views of the Pykes by indirect means.

It is remarkable also, that with the exception of Coojung, and perhaps one or two other Estates, the Paeks and Khundytes who have been engaged in the disturbances belong to Estates which were no longer in the possession or under the

management of the ancient proprietors. For instance Khoordah, Khoatdes and Limbaee, were held Khas, and the Estates of Murrechpore, Hurrishpore, Golra, Bulrampore and Roopasoo were all in the hands of new purchasers.

The foregoing general remarks are submitted under the imporession that they may perhaps be of use in considering the course which should be pursued with a view to the restoration of tranquillity.

W. Trower, Collector of Cuttack to J. P. Ward, Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

23 May, 1817

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo calling on me, by the orders of Government, to furnish a report on certain points supposed to be connected with the present apparent disaffection of the inhabitants of this district. It has been my anxious endeavour from the commencement of the disturbance, to trace to the true sources the causes which could possibly have given rise to such an unprecedented occurrence and I shall endeavour to lay before the Board such a statement as may, I hope, prove satisfactory.

2. As the mainspring of the insurrection has been the arrival of Jaggabandhu Bidyadhar into the territory of Khoordah with the avowed intention (as far as I can learn) of carrying off the Rajah of Khoordah and restoring him to the whole of his former possessions in this province I shall, before I proceed to enter on the points proposed, beg leave to state the nature and extent of the Rajah's claims.

In former times, nearly the whole of Cuttack including those Estates denominated Ghurjats were subject to the Rajahs of Khoordah, but in process of time the sovereignty devolved by conquest to the Mogul Government with the exception of killah Khoordah, and the pergunnahs of Rahang, Serrain, Chowbeescood and Limbai which include Pooree or Poorsottum Chetter which continued subject to the Rajahs of Khoordah.

About the year 1751 the Marhatta Government by conquest also obtained possession of Cuttack when the Ghurjats became Tributary to them. The Khoordah Rajahs however continued in possession of the territory abovementioned on paying a tribute of 22000 rupees per annum.

At this period or antecedent thereto, the legitimate descendant of the Khoordah family had been dispossessed and a natural son was in the enjoyment of the Estates. The legal descendant Rajah Narrain Deo who resided on the coast invaded

Khoordah with a view to the recovery of his rights, and to repel this invasion the Rajah then in possession (I believe the father of Makoond Deo) applied to the Marhatta Government for assistance which was granted on condition of his defraying the expense of the equipment and paying a stipulated sum in money. Narrain Deo having been expelled the Khoordah Rajah was called on, for the performance of his engagements but being unable to answer the demand, ceded either in perpetuity or till the liquidation of his debt, the pergunnahs of Limbai, Rahang, Serrain and Chowbeesood together with the Collections on Pilgrims resorting to the temple at Juggernath and on the conquest of the province by the British Arms these Estates were found under the Khas Management of the Marhatta Government.

3. The circumstance of Rajah Makoond Deo having opposed the British Troops and the arrangements consequent thereto, the Board are informed of but it may be necessary to state, that killah Roorung, which formed part of the ceded pergunnahs, was the property by purchase of the ancestors of Jagabandhu Bidyadhar, who were hereditary Buxees to Khoordah Rajahs, and were also connected with them by Marriage and who subsequent to the cession of the pergunnahs, continued to hold killah Roorung in zemindaree tenure, a dispute however having taken place between Jagabandhu and his uncle who was at that time in possession, the former, murdered his uncle and fled to escape punishment, in consequence of which, I understand the Estate became forfeited to the Government.

The Board are already fully acquainted with the claims preferred some time since by Jagabandhu to Roorung, the objections he made to its being annexed to the purchase of Kishen Chandra Sing, of its being separated therefrom, and Jagabandhu referred to the Court to substantiate his pretensions. I have only therefore to observe, that being disappointed in his views, and without the means of subsistence he has excited the present disturbance with a view to restore the Rajah and thereby secure his own independence.

That the Raja did favour his views, admits of little doubt.

Admitting that Jagabandhu from his former situation possessed considerable influence over the minds of the people in Khoordah, admitting also that the Khoordah Rajah himself favoured the views of Jagabandhu still, I cannot think that the inhabitants would have risked their lives, property and families in so unequal a struggle unless they suffered extreme hardships and oppressions

from the Government to which they were subject and felt, that any change that took place in their condition, must be for the better.

My opinion on the state of Khoordah, the impolicy, not to say injustice of the settlements that have been made and the impossibility of realizing the last one, are so fully detailed in the letters (addressed to Mr. Richardson and the Board) noted in the margin that I have nothing left to say on the subject further than to request that the Board will submit to Government copies of those letters, at the same time they forward this report

22nd November 1813.
1st July 1816
28th July ,,
6th Aug. ,,
2nd Sept. ,,
20th March 1817.

I shall now proceed to reply separately to the several points noticed in the proceedings of Government.

1. The extensive sales of land which have taken place, since the period of our acquisition of the Province in question.

It is natural to conclude that any man who loses his estate against his will, under whatever circumstance, should feel discontent, and as a very great proportion of the original zemindars of this district are thus situated, it may be said, that to a certain extent the sales of lands which have taken place since the period of our acquisition of the Province, have tended to create discontent though I never recollect to have heard the subject ever mentioned as a grievance till the present enquiry was instituted, since which numberless trifling complaints have been brought forward which, I am confident never before entered into the minds of any individual in the district; the sale of lands in default of payment of revenue can never in itself be considered as a hardship, particularly under the regulations of the British Government where generally speaking every possible indulgence is shown to the zemindar the sale of whose lands is seldom resorted to, unless the arrear has evidently accumulated, from inattention, extravagance, or other unjustifiable evasions. But if it appears that the mode of sale (from whatever cause) does not afford to the proprietor an opportunity of obtaining the fair value of his lands, then, such sale must be considered as a hardship and a just cause of complaint in as much as it deprives him of his property, without his receiving a fair compensation.

It appears to me that there are two grounds of complaint respecting sales of land, the first is, the disposing of Estates in Calcutta, the Jumma of which exceed Rs. 5000 and the other, permitting native Officers of Government holding situations in the District to become purchasers of lands sold at the Collector's Office.

There are very few Oriya zemindars (scarcely one I believe) who have Agents in Calcutta, that they are in fact almost entirely precluded from the possibility of purchasing any of the lands sold at the office of the Board and as the Bengalees who purchase are generally unacquainted with the actual resource of the Estate advertised and are guided principally by the amount of the Sudder Jumma, the probability is that an Estate of considerable value may be knocked down at the price far below what it would have brought, had it been sold in Cuttack. The Board will perhaps recollect the case of Prandhan Choudhury, proprietor of Talook Balbhudderpore which was sold in Calcutta in 1812 for a very trifling sum which was due on accounts of interest, though he had executed the usual engagements for the payment of the same at this office, as communicated by me to the Board in a letter under date the 25th December 1812 with a recommendation that they would be pleased to take his case into their favourable consideration. Had Prandhan Choudhury had an agent or any friend in Calcutta, it is not probable they would have allowed a valuable Estate to be sold for so trifling a balance.

This evil I conceive might be remedied by advertising Estates of the above description to be put up to sale on the same day at the office of the Board and the Collector's cutcherry, the condition of the sale being, that the highest bidder at either of the two places should be considered the purchaser.

Of the evil of permitting native officers of Government holding situations in the District to purchase lands at public sale I have had many proofs, and in a letter to the late Commissioner under date the 1st October, 1813 I stated my sentiments on the subject, not only does the influence of these people prevent the Oreas from entering into competition with them in the purchase of lands, but if any of their own Estates are in arrears, the Oriyas are deterred from appearing as purchasers, lest they should incur their enmity but to avoid loss they (the native Amlahs) contrive to purchase their own estates, through the intervention of some convenient friend.

Total number of Estates in Cuttack, independent of tributaries is 2840.

It appears from the accompanying Statement No. 7, that from December 1806 to December 1816 a period of 10 years the number of estates sold by public auction, have been 1011 which gives an average of 101 yearly and considering the number of Estates in the District and how very trifling some of them are

I should not think the number disposed of any thing extraordinary or more than what is probably the case in other zillahs and it must also be recollected that some of these estates were the khas property of Government.

On a reference to statement No. 1 it will be found that out of the above mentioned sales 350 have been purchases by foreigners the jumma of whose purchases amounted to 442804 rupees from which it is evident that the principal estates have gone into their hands. The Board will further remark that of those, 235 have been purchased by persons holding official situations under Governmemt direct in their own names, or indirectly by their relations and dependants and by a reference to the price paid for those mehals (more particularly during the four or five first years) they cannot fail to discover strong marks of that undue influence, complained of by me. But as the number of Bengalees have increased in the District and advanced in opulence, greater competition has taken place between themselves and a somewhat fairer market established. The jumma of the lots marked in the margin was 121695 rupees and the money paid for them at sale 46205 which can be considered as little better than downright robbery. I am however inclined to think that greater cause of complaint exists on the score of private transfer of property than of public sales. Within the same period as that abovementioned (viz—10 years) the transfer of property by private contract has amounted to 1070397 rupees and in one day a police Darogah sold mehals to the value of 50,000 rupees which he had purchased for 21,000 and this is only a small portion of the landed property of the District that has passed through his hands. Here again the same influence is clearly visible.

Nos. 3,5,7, 9,10,14,15, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56, 61, 65, 68, 69, 73, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86,133, 146,148, 173,187.

many cases of unfair dealing might be brought forward, but as they would require close investigation they cannot properly be introduced in this report. I shall however beg leave to refer the Board to one gross instance of fraud on record, by a man who still holds his situation in my office(:) and I particularly wish to bring this to their notice because, it shows the manner in which the Oriyas have been deprived of their Estates, and Balbudder Choudhury the sufferer, has been foremost amongst insurgents to take forcible possession of his lost property.

(:)Vide—accompanying copy of a letter under date 16th Aug. 1818-No. 16.

2nd. The constant fluctuation of the assessment, under the present system of temporary settlement.

The fluctuation of the assessment under the system of temporary settlements, cannot well be pleaded as a cause of disaffection in the province of Cuttack, when it is considered that the system of annual settlements existed for 60 years under the Marhatta Government, that these were not conducted with the same care and attention to the interests of the individuals concerned as the Regulation of the English Government requires, but were entrusted to the Ammils of the several Divisions, and were altogether arbitrary. Instead of disaffected in consequence of such temporary settlements I would say they are disappointed and discontented and with good reason. The first proclamation of the Government published in the Province, promised a permanent settlement at the expiration of a certain number of years. Mr. Buller in 1216 gave the zemindars reason to hope that his settlement would prove permanent, and Mr. Richardson did the same, yet since the latter Gentleman has left the District, two Regulations have been promulgated continuing that assessment for one and for two years and another temporary settlement is about to take place. My own opinion which is formed from much conversation on the subject with the inhabitants of the District, is that a Decennial settlement would be very agreeable to the zemindars provided they had a positive assurance, that at the end of that period a permanent assessment would be made. But as ten years is fully sufficient to bring into cultivation waste lands I conceive it would be more satisfactory to the District and equally advantageous to Government to make a settlement which for 10 years (or less as circumstances may suggest) should be progressive in its Jumma such a course of course to depend on the lands to be added to the produce of the estate, and give the zemindars a promise at once, that this settlement was to be parmanent and no further alteration whatever made respecting it.

Under this head I shall beg leave to make a few observations respecting the settlement that have lately been formed by me and the enquiries I have instituted with a view to the formation of the future settlement of the district at large. I have given it as my opinion publicly that this Province is not over-assessed but on the contrary that previously to a permanent settlement Government have every right to expect a considerable increase to the jumma, and I still maintain my assertion to be correct (1). In former years, when a zemindar relinquished the management of this estate

(1) Independent of wast lands

on the plea of over assessment the method pursued was, that of deputing an ameen to take charge and after sending a Hustabood to the Collector's Office, orders were given without further enquiry, to make the collections accordingly and the result invariably was a loss to Government of nearly one half of the original jumma, though it was notorious that many of these Estates were extremely lucrative to the proprietors. The fact is it was supposed that the settlement formed by Mr. Richardson would prove permanent and the dissenting proprietors entertained a hope that by pleading over-assessment they would be allowed for the first year or two to resume their estates on the Hustabood jumma sent in by the Ameens (after deducting Malikana) and probably be required to give by russud the former jumma which would then become permanent. Being aware of this, when in July last so many proprietors relinquished their Estates, I proposed the establishment of a sudder Khas Dufter, which was complied with. I sent out Mohurirs from this Dafter to such places I thought necessary, but merely with instructions to report on the general state of the Mehal, leaving all enagements to be ultimately made by myself when the season would admit of my proceeding to the interior of the district and wherever I had cause to suppose that a man made a false report I instantly removed him, the consequence of which was, that the zemindars finding it useless to bribe the persons deputed, soon began to petition to be allowed to resume charge of their estates and out of the list submitted by me to the Board in July last 81 resumed their Estates and with the exception of 79 the others have been settled without loss either with the mokaddams or the persons who originally held the lands. Very few indeed have been farmed to persons who are not some way or other connected with the Estates. But these settlements have not been made without a strict and minute enquiry into their actual present resources, and capabilities of future improvements. They have not been made on speculation but from the measurement of land in cultivation and the increase assessed by russud, has been on that, which could be rendered productive and I am ready to prove to the satisfaction of the Board that no single Estate is overassessed, but on the contrary that if the roytts are fairly treated, every one of them will yield handsome profit to the holder. I was aware that in some Estates of late years, the purchasers had made unwarrantable demands on the Roytts. To avoid therefore falling into the same error I examined the Putwarries accounts and ascertained the Nerick of the lands for many years back and feel confident that if the average rate adopted by me is adhered to by zemindars and any

nearly 40000 rupees annual jumma of lands, are held by individuals, who have no sort of claim thereto.

The Jumma of 79 Estates is only 16708.

means can be devised to bring the courie more on a level with the Rupee in value, the Ryotts would shortly become comparatively rich and independent. Those zemindars who have not relinquished their Estates, but who have watched my proceedings, feel assured if the future settlement is entrusted to me that I shall pursue the same measures with them that I have adopted on the khas mehals and they will leave no means untried to impress the Government with an idea of their extreme poverty and the difficulty they experience already from the heavy assessment of their lands. They openly declare that they never can pay their revenues unless they get 8 annas where Government gets a rupee, or in other words unless they derive a profit of 50 per cent on their Estates and most of them are ready to acknowledge that they already collect 25 per cent. They are unwilling to make any allowance for lands out of cultivation and which they might with ease immediately render productive, but expect no notice whatever is to be taken of them. It is far from my wish (and many of my proceedings before the Board prove it) to make an unreasonable demand from the proprietors of Estates. It would not only be injurious to the interests of Government as it respects the land itself, but tend undoubtedly to render the cultivators discontented, but although Government are tenderly tenacious of the rights and comforts of their subjects they are not, I conceive, willing to relinquish their own and as long as I act according to the regulations laid down for my conduct and do not depart in any respect from my duty, the fear of clamour will never deter me from acting as I think that duty requires.

I have thought it necessary to say this much because I know that attempts will be made to cast much of the supposed discontent on the enquiries instituted by me, and I am anxious that Government should know how far, and on what principles, those enquiries have been carried on, and be able to decide whether they can be considered as just causes of complaint.

3rd. The heavy loss to which the zemindars are subject from the depreciation of couries.

On the subject of couries I shall beg leave to refer the Board to the accompanying copy of a letter addressed by me to the Accountant General so far back as the 1st of December 1812. When that letter was written I had been but very short time in the province, but the experience of five years has served to confirm in my mind the sentiments therein expressed.

The introduction of copper pice with a view to supersede the couries currency has failed in its anticipated good effects, but in my opinion, it has principally failed from having been opposed

by the monied men and principal zemindars in the District as tending greatly to reduce their profits in the traffic of couries.

The depriciation in price of couries cannot by any means be a matter of surprise, when it is recollected that Sicca rupees only are received in payment of Revenue, and that more than two thirds of the rupees collected are annually carried out of the District the consequence of which is that silver is so scarce, that it is only to be purchased at an advance of from 70 to 80 percent on the value originally affixed to the courie currency by Government. If however couries were in such abundance as is generally supposed, those who purchase then with rupees at such a high rate, would soon have more than they could dispose of and instead of proving an advantage would be a dead weight on their hands. But the fact is that couries are only procurable to a certain extent and as at particular seasons of the year they are in greater demand than at others, those who possess them may make some profit thereby, but the courie business is principally an affair of accounts on paper, or of Dr and Cr. between the money lender and the roytts which I shall endeavour to explain.

All zemindaree accounts are on the first instance computed in couries, that being the circulating medium in the mofussil and better understood by the ryotts than rupees. A ryott engages to rent from the landholder eight beegahs of land, producing various crops agreeably to the value of which the asessment is made. And we will suppose the total assessment of the 8 bigahs to amount to 144 khawans of couries. To this is added on account Kurchas 2 pans for Khawan (and frequently a long list of other demands) making on the whole 162 khawans which are turned into rupees at the Government rate of exchange of 4 khawans per rupee, making sicca rupees 40-5 for which sum the ryotts sign a Kabuliat. As the Mofussil and Bazar rate of couries is from 6 to 7 khawans the rupee, the ryott to enable him to pay the sum for which he stands engaged, must sell the produce of his land for 280 khawans of couries instead of 162, the rate at which it was calculated in the first instance, and if the season is favourable, and he can keep his grain till good market is afforded, he is some times able to do this and even make some profit besides. But if from calamity of season, scarcity of rupees or any other accident, he is unable to pay his revenue by the time required he is obliged to have recourse to a Mahajan to advance him money who debits him in his books at the rate of 7 kahans

Vide—Statement No. 15

(more or less) for the rupee besides adding interest, discount, price of stamp paper for a bond etc., all of which is to be paid from the next year's produce. If instead of going to a Mahajan he goes to his zemindar and offers to pay his revenue in couries the land-holder will not receive them at the rate at which he originally assessed the land, 162 khawans, but demands 7 kahans the rupee as the kabuliat was signed for sicca rupees, which he himself must pay to Government. Thus the Ryott loses in the exchange from 2 to 3 khawans, becomes involved in debt, and deserts the Estate, the consequence of which is that the zemindar is obliged to let out his lands to Paee Ryotts (residing in other Estates) at a reduced Nerick and in his turn becomes a sufferer from the couries exchange.

In the letter above alluded to I stated that were I desired to purchase a lac of rupees of couries at the bazar price, I could not effect it and I am still of the same opinion, admitting however that a much larger sum could be collected, even to the amount of three lakhs of rupees, still I conceive provided Government fixed nerick for the whole district and consented to receive couries in payment of revenue, no inconvenience would be experienced, because the sums thus collected could again be disposed of in the following manner. The expenses of the temple, and all pensions including Unnachutter charges, repairs of embankments and the expenses of the new road, all public buildings, diet to prisoners in jail and I think I may add the salt Molungees' would be well pleased to be paid in couries. Indeed so long as Government consented to receive the courie in payment of revenue no reasonable objection could be made by any one to receive them as the wages of labour etc., as however the receipt of couries in payment of revenue could solely have in view the amelioration of the condition of the ryotts, it would be essentially necessary that some nerick should be fixed for the whole District, and no higher demand on any account allowed. If this were not the case the zemindar and shroffs would probably not relax in their demands on the Ryotts but turn the indulgence of Government into a source of very considerable profit.

Another advantage in my opinion likely to result from fixing the value of couries and ascertaining its exact relative value with the rupee, would be, that the objections at present made to the copper pice, would vanish, because the Mahajans and zemindars finding no longer any advantage in speculating in couries would,

I should conceive, in preference receive the copper pice, as being less bulky and less perishable and thus in course time copper currency might be established in Cuttack as completely as it is in the province of Bengal. As the exchange between the rupee and the courie depends entirely in the scarcity or abundance of the former to be found in the market, any means that could be devised to keep rupees in the District would not fail to have the effect of bringing it nearer on a level with the courie currency and one means I think would be, that of discontinuing the present system of granting to individuals, Bills on the General Treasury at a premium of one per cent. The holders of specie, not finding the same facility of transmitting their cash to Calcutta, would be induced to attempt the exportation of Rice, Cloths, Dyes, Wax and other articles procurable in this District which are saleable in Calcutta, and a commercial intercourse between the two places once established would lead more than anything else to the improvement of this District,

In the year 1211 the collections under Mr. Melville were made in couries. The rate fixed was 4 khawans, the Mofussil rate at that period being about Khs. 3.12. The sums thus collected were almost immediately disposed of being purchased by the Mahajans for the purpose of retailing them again in the Mofussil from which they derived a very considerable profit. As the exchange now stands purchasers could not of course be found, but I am told that not a doubt is to be entertained that in the event of Government receiving couries into the treasury at 4 khawans or any rate it might be thought proper to fix, the Mofussil rate would in a very short time fall down to khs. 3-ps.8 in which case Government could always dispose of any quantity they might have to advantage and till such time as this effect was produced, they could be disbursed in the mode above suggested. I fear I may not have explained myself sufficiently clear but the subject is in itself intricate, and I feel much difficulty in committing my opinions to paper,

4th. The enhanced price of salt and the difficulty of procuring it, even at an advanced price.

Whatever the real causes may be or where the fault may lie I confess myself quite unable to decide, but certain it is, that the cry for salt is general throughout the District. Not only is the high price complained of, a price, which is said to preclude the lower classes of people from purchasing it, but the difficulty of procuring it, even by those who can afford to pay for it. I have conversed with many zemindars as well as Ryotts on the subject, by whom the following causes are enumerated.

That the merchants purchase it at the Government price and retail it at an exorbitant increase, that the chokey Darogahs levy a duty of 1 anna per maund on the passage of salt through their respective chokees, that sufficient shops are not established in the Mofussil, and that the Molangees are very ill-paid and forced to give a greater weight than is required by Government. To this I may add that during my tour of the District it was with the greatest difficulty I could procure sufficient salt for the daily consumption of my camp. How far these complaints are founded in truth or how far exaggerated I do not presume to say, doubtless, the salt agent can give a much more satisfactory account than I am able to do.

5th. The rigour with which the payment of the land revenue is exacted.

I know not whether this is intended to refer to any rigour exercised by the Collector and his Amlah, or to the proprietors of Estates. If the former, I know of none, on the contrary I think great indulgence is shown, but if it refers to the latter, I am of opinion that great rigour and severity is frequently exercised and particularly by the officers of Government who hold Estates and by farmers. Independent of the regular land assessment, the Ryotts are burthened with many unauthorized Abwabs, and it was with a view to prevent such impositions, that I proposed to the Board, the exchange of Pottah and Kabooliats between the zemindars and the cultivator of the soil should be drawn out on stamped paper of a very trifling price, till the period of permanent settlement, by which means the Ryott would ascertain what he had to pay and if any unauthorized demand was introduced it would not be recoverable in court. At present the demands are nearly arbitrary and certainly oppressive.

The payment of interest on arrears of kists considering the difficulty of procuring specie is I think a great hardship, the money lenders frequently refuse to advance cash till the day of sale and then demand at the rate of 40 per cent. Sree Krishna Dass a shorff of Bhyrub Sunker Choudhury, Treasurer to court, are almost the only money lenders in the district, and some idea of their profits may be formed, Bhyrab Sunker Choudhury having remitted through my Treasury since January 1815, the large sum of 80,000 rupees and within the same period purchased lands to the amount of 7873. The Mofussil kistbundee differs considerably from the Hazooree and almost generally throughout the District, 12 pans are demanded from the Ryotts before the month of January. The consequence of such early demands is that the Ryott is compelled

to dispose of his grain at a considerable loss, whereas by keeping it, he might be enabled to obtain a much more favourable price.

An answer to this is contained in the reply given to the 2nd proposition, my sentiments on the settlement are before the Board already, a permanent settlement could not fail to be agreeable to the District, but unless such settlement was to be made for a certain number of years progressive in its jumma, the interests of Government would suffer materially. 6th. The disappointment experienced at the postponement of the permanent settlement.

Having replied separately to the several points noticed in the proceedings of Government, I shall proceed to state those circumstances which in my opinion more than any others have tended to create disgust and discontent in the minds of the inhabitants of this District. The Board desire me to confine my remarks to the points relating to revenue, the proceedings of Government however would appear to require much more and that every circumstances supposed to be connected with the apparent discontent, should be distinctly mentioned and fully reported on, and I feel it to be my duty to give my sentiments undisguised and freely. I am by no means seeking causes in other Departments with a view to throwing off any blame that can fairly attach to my own. It has been my study to clear my own office from every abuse which existed; and since my return from the Cape, I have been my own Dewan and my own Sheristadar and not an order or a paper has proceeded from my office, but what has been dictated by myself. I am therefore solely responsible for all acts emanating therefrom, and if any thing appears improper or unjust, if an opportunity is afforded me, I doubt not I shall be able to give a satisfactory explanation of it. I have no right to doubt that those at the head of other Departments have been less zealous or active in their enquiries than myself and I am willing to give them credit for having been equally so, but I do not think the same opportunities of research and enquiry have been afforded them and that consequently they have not been so successful. I believe I am the first and only officer of the Government that has hitherto visited the interior of the District. I have travelled through the greatest part of it, conversed with all classes of people from the highest to the lowest and certainly the complaints against the Police, and the Moonsifs exceed any thing I could have supposed. A regular system of oppression and peculation appears to exist throughout and instead of proving

a protection to the country and a preventive against improper conduct, these people are considered the terror and the scourge of the district, and by their example lead the way to every thing that is inequitious.

I should be sorry that my single statement should be depended on, I appeal to the District at large, who have been only prevented from bringing forward publicly their complaints (if their own statements are to be credited) by the fear of incurring the hatred of the Amlah at the head of the Department.

The oppression exercised by the Police is by no means of late date, it has existed at least since 1813 and I have always considered (and expressed it publicly as well as privately) that the district of Cuttack was in this respect the most important of any in the Company's Provinces. We all know what salary of a Police Darogah is and we also know generally speaking from what class of natives they are selected and it is therefore impossible (at least in my mind) to account for the sudden rise of these people to riches and consequence, unless by giving credit, to their unwarrantable exactions.

In my letter of the 22nd November 1813 above alluded to, I had occasion to remark at that time on the conduct of the Police Darogah of Khoordah. This man still holds that situation and he told me himself that in the late burning of Khoordah he had lost property to the value of between 40 and 50,000 rupees. When it is recollected that most of the Darogahs and Moonsifs are situated at a distance from the Sudder Station (out of the reach of the eye of the Magistrate) where they can carry on their exactions almost I may say, without the fear of detection, it is scarcely to be wondered at that such abuses exist, and the Head of a Department is generally the last to hear of abuses carrying on in his own office. It is true Judges of Circuit occasionally visit the District, but confined all day to the cutcherry and surrounded by those very people who are implicated in guilt, they are not very likely to gain much insight into the true state of the country. That in fact they quit the district without an opportunity of conversing with the zemindars or Ryotts who can alone point out the difficulties under which they labour.

I must candidly confess, that I do not think any of the points noticed by Government, can be considered as causes of disaffection. Neither do I think that disaffection towards the British

Government exists (in Khoordah excepted) not a single zemindar in possession of his estate either Malgoozar or Lakhirajdar—or whose Estate is under khas management, has openly evinced any inclination to revolt. Jugabandhu's object was to create as much confusion as possible in the district at large and he could not more effectually produce this, than by pursuading those zemindars who had lost their lands, that they had been ill treated and by instigating them to revolt. He studiously propagated a report, that a Marhatta army was about to invade Cuttack, to rescue the Province from the hands of the English, and the Board will recollect that I mentioned this report was abroad in January last, and it is by no means improbable, that had Jagabandhu's success continued, many zemindars would have considered that they were consulting their own interests in joining the standard of rebellion. I have been informed (but how far correctly I will not pretend to say) that the whole of the tributary Rajahs, from Moyurbhanj to Goomsur, were in league with the Khoordah Rajah, that the first success on the part of the insurgents was to have been the signal for joining in the revolt, and that had Pooree remained many days longer in their possession the whole district would have been in arms. When it is considered that the tributary Rajahs hold their estates on terms much more favourable, than they did under the Marhatta Government, want of faith on their part is unaccountable, unless we are to look upon the present unpleasant disturbance, in the light of a crusade, the object of which was to expel the English from all intereference with the land of Poorsottum Chitter.

I feel pretty confident that the irruption of Jagabandhu into Khoordah with a view to carrying off the Rajah, was not a resolution formed on a sudden, but a plan decided in some months before and Charn Patnaik who was the first man there murdered long ago reported that Jagabandhu was tampering with the Dulberrars and principal surbarakars.

I have already observed that the inhabitants of Khoordah have been hardly treated but I have not thought it necessary under existing circumstances to offer any opinion as to ameliorating their condition in future. I should however think it highly impolitic at present to dispose of the Estate by sale, even should the Rajah be altogether deprived of it.

I might in this report have been more full on those points which are connected with the question of a permanent settlement of the District but as I have so frequently troubled the Board with my opinions on that subject I should only have been repeating sentiments which are already before them and which, I trust (if they consider necessary) they will submit to Government. I shall only therefore in conclusion add, that the employment of Bengalees in all public situations under Government to the total exclusion (almost) of those who served under the former Government has naturally created disgust amongst that class of people, many of whom are I believe persons of respectability and qualified to hold situations of trust and responsibility. The population of the District is altogether, it may be said, Hindoo, and the greater portion of Brahmin caste, and I am therefore of opinion that the appointment of Mussalmans to distant situations in the Mofussil is very objectionable, particularly to situations of extensive influence in which they may be guilty of committing acts offensive to the prejudices of the Hindoos, though such acts, if complained of, might at first view appear of trifling importance.

It cannot be supposed that I would propose to exclude altogether from office men of the Mussalman faith to the employment of whom under the immediate control of the head of a Department no objection can arise, but I consider the Province of Cuttack in a manner distinct from the other Provinces under the English Government. It is exclusively Hindoo, and when in subjection to the Mogul Government the strictest rules were observed in protecting the prejudices of the natives from insult or derision.

It has been reported to Government that independent of Khoordah and Jagabandhu, causes of complaint do exist in Cuttack (whether or not the present disturbances are occasioned thereby) and if the enquiries now instituted, have the effect of bringing to light hidden abuses which can be prevented in future (in whatever Department they are to be found) it will at least be some good arising out of a great evil.

It cannot fail to be highly satisfactory to every civil authority in the district (I can at least answer for myself) that a minute and impartial local investigation should take place. We are told from all quarters that the disturbances are attributed to the oppressions of the civilians, and our characters as men and as public servants, in a great measure, depend on the result of such an investigation.

The statements which accompany this report a list of which is annexed are calculated, to throw some light on the present enquiry. The one marked No. 12, I must confess, I do not understand, neither do any of my Amlahs. It is extracted from the records of the Sudder Canoongoe's office and relates to the Peshkush and fees paid by the Khoordah Rajahs to the former Government. The others are taken from the record of my own office and require no explanation.

R. Rocke and W. Orton Salmon, Board of Revenue, to H. E. the Governor General.

3 June 1817

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's orders of the 18th April last, giving cover to extract of proceedings in the Judicial Department on the subject of the disturbances in the Province of Cuttack, and acquiring us to call on the Collector for a report on the causes of the commotions existing in that District, and to submit the same to your lordship in Council together with our own sentiments. In pursuance of the above orders we issued the necesary instructions to the Collector and have now the honour to forward his report together with the documents and statements which accompanied it, and to subjoin the following remarks and observations.

2. In submitting the Collector's report to Gevernment the Board consider themselves incompetent to offer their opinion decidedly as to the real sources of the recent disturbances in the Province of Cuttack, particularly as Government will have more sufficient means of information and grounds of conclusion from the distinct commuuications of the several local authorities and though the Collector has in this report entered upon matter not absolutely or immediately connected with the Revenue Department (but not irrelevant to the important question of the disturbances, if his information progressedly founded on personal observation and extensive communication with the inhabitants of the interior be correct) the Board will be disposed to leave such matter without comment and to confine their remarks to the following points to which they conceive the present detailed report may be reduced.

1st The landed and personal interests of Jagabandhu, the principal mover of the late disturbances, in the province.

Secondly. The condition of the zemindars and their real or suppositions grievances in regard to their tenures, to alienations of landed property and to the loss they sustain from the depriciated value of couries.

Thirdly. The condition of they Ryotts. The mode and medium of payment of their rents. Their profit of labour, and means of subsistence partcularly in regard to the essential articles of alienating salt.

3. On the first head it may be remarked that the interests of Jagabandhu appear to be twofold viz a landed Estate in killah Roorung the property by purchase of his ancestors, and his personal interests as hereditary Bukshee to the Rajahs of Khoordah.

4. The Collector's report of the 25th August 1813 contains a succint account of killah Rorung. It would appear these from that the mehal or Estate was originally distinct and separate, the property or possession of Jagabandhu, who entered into engagements in 1806 E. S. for the settlement of 1213,-14, and -15 Umlee; but it would seem that notwithstanding his engagements for it, as a sudder Estate, he did not pay the revenue directly to the Collector but through a Tehsildar on the part of Chandrapersad Sing, a near relation and agent of Kishen Chandra Singh who became ultimately (in the year 1216 Umlee) the purchaser of pergunnas Rahang and etc., formerly the property of Government. It is supposed that through the artifices of Chunderpersad Singh in the consolidation of the revenue of Killah Rarung with those of other mehals, the alienation of that killah became involved in the sale of pergunnahs Rahang etc. The orders of Government to the Commissioner of Cuttack under date the 24 December 1813 were carried into execution as far as regarded the separation of killah Rarung, but it does not appear from the Board's records that Jagabandhu acceded, or was admitted to the settlement of the killah in his own right. The Estate was farmed to one Bishennath Roy, from 1221 Umlee to 1223, and the settlement for 1224, 1225 and 1226 has been concluded, under the Board's recommendation of the 13th September last, and with the confirmation of Government under date the 4th October with the "Gomastah or persons employed in the Collection of the Revenue."

5. The claim of Jagabandhu originally would appear to have been wellfounded though he vitiated it in some degree by acquiesing in the artifices of Chunder Persad Singh to consolidate the revenue distinctly and separstely payable by him, with the revenues of Rahang and etc. In consequence of the opposite claims of Kishen Persad the purchaser of those pergunahs, and of Jagabandhu himself

they were both referred to the judicial courts and the former has instituted a suit accordingly. It may be hence inferred that Jagabandhu was in the first instance accessory to the injury of which he complained, in regard to his exclusion from the settlement of killah Rorung, and afterwards wifully negligent of his own interests in not seeking redress in the regular mode which had been pointed out to him. But the preponderant motive of his disaffection and subsequent event rebellion would seem from the Collectors present report to have originated in the personal influence and means of wealth or profit which he and his ancestors once enjoyed as the Bukshee or Head Officer of the Khoordah Rajahs. The Board are not in possession of any further information on this subject than what the Collector's present report affords, from which it would appear that in consequence of murder, he had at one time become a fugitive if not an outlaw during the Marhatta Power and that his Estate had been forfeited to the Government. Uuder what circumstances he returned and resumed possession is not explained but there is reason to suppose that on the conquest of the Province, he was found only a private individual without rank or reputation and not entitled to any particular consideration. The Second Head namely the condition of the Zemindars embraces a wide field and as Government are desirous of having the Collector's report laid before them promptly it is feared that time and present opportunity will not admit of expatiating on the subject to its full extent.

It would seem to be the Collector's firm opinion resulting from ocular observation and experience in official details, that the Estates of Cuttack are, generally speaking, not over-assessed in their present jumma and that they would be capable of yielding a progressive increase without diminution of fair proportion of profit to the zemindar or landlord, if time were allowed for the extension and improvement of agriculature. A proof of Estates not being over-assessed appears to be furnished, in the renewal of the settlement by the majority of the zemindars, at the former jumma, when they discovered that the Collector had adopted measures for ascertaining the general state of mehals unengaged for (or temporarily relinquished with a view of obtaining better terms) by the establishment of a sudder khas Dufter and the deputation of officers therefrom to the spot. Thus out of the number of such mehals of which the Collector transmitted a list in July last only 79 amounting in sudder jumma to Rs. 16708 remains at this time unsettled. The present settlement for the most part renewed for

3 years under Regulation VI of 1816 must be considered to have reference principally to lands that have been usually and long in tillage, though of course such malgoozars as have capital, industry and foresight and can increase the agricultural population on their Estates, will, in the interval, be able to bring a portion of waste into cultivation or render more productive such land as has been already wrought. But unfortunately the natives of the soil are reputed to be neither capitalists nor persons of industry or resource, at the same time that they are tenacious of possession and apparently very jealous of innovators, particularly of foreigners or strangers, such as Bengalees or Mussalmans. It is on this point particularly that the interests of Government and of the ancient landholders of Cuttack clash, so oppositely that it seems hardly practicable to compromise them, without the sacrifice of valuable available public resources on the one hand or the frequent mutation of private property and the consequent extrusion of old proprietors on the other. The Collector however does not appear to consider the frequent sales of lands in the Province of Cuttack to have been so much a matter of discontent as the mode of sale that is, the sale of Estates above a certain jumma, at the Presidency.

The Collector would imply that as very few Oriya zemindars have agents in Calcutta, such description of persons have rarely an opportunity of becoming purchasers at public sales conducted at the Presidency, whilst the Bengalees who are more frequently the purchasers, being unacquainted with the actual resources of Estates in that quarter, are not such eager or strennous bidders one against another as would be found if the sales were conducted within the circle of more accurate information of the real value of land. Thus that Estates of considerable value are often knocked down at an inferior price.

It may be doubted whether the omissions of Oriya zemindars or others having local habitation in, or immediate personal connexion and acquaintance with, the District, to make purchase at the public sales, conducted at the Presidency, arises so much from their not having agents to attend and to bid for them as from reasons which have before been assigned in regard to improvement of Estates, namely the want of capital and inability or unwillingness of speculation. On the contrary the Bengalees are abundant capitalists and wide speculators and as far as relates to lands situated in distant Districts in other parts of the country

the Bengalees at the Presidency sales, with little better means of information as to the actual value or resource of Estates, are generally found to bid the highest prices and to engage in the greatest competition and it was principally (perhaps solely) with this view and to ensure best prices that the Board adopted the measure of selling Estates above 5000 rupees Jumma at the Presidency. On a comparison of the prices at which Fstates have been disposed of by public sale in the District of Cuttack, with those at which they have been sold at the Presidency, it will be found that the average is much in favour of the latter. The Board however are willing to admit one point of objetion arising from the absence of Oriya zemindars or their agents at the Presidency sales which the Collector has rather curiously noticed by way of instance, than largely discussed, namely the possible tender of the amount of balance and the consequent prevention or postponement of actual sale. Any measure that would consistently facilitate such an opportunity the Board would cheerfully acquiesce in and if notwithstanding the arguments opposed to the Collector's principal objection to the Presidency sales. He should still have good grounds for recommending the experiment of conducting all public sales of Cuttack lands (for a time at the sudder station of the District) the Board would not overrule it, but they are of opinion that the expedient proposed by him of putting up the same Estate at two places at the same time, is altogether anomalous and inexpedient. It may be remarked the old zemindars, indigenous as it were to the soil, are naturally supposed to be jealous of any innovators particularly of strangers or foreigners and in this light Bengalee purchasers may be considered, and perhaps the prejudice, which obtains generally and extensively elsewhere against the Bengalee charactor frr rapacity and artifice, may be prevalent amongst the Oriya classes also; and it is to be feared, that the introduction of Bengalee Gomashtahs and other descriptions of agents or dependants, whom Bengalee purchasers are apt to introduce into Estates, to the exclusion of old zemindaree servants born and bred upon the soil and considered to have almost an hereditary or prescriptive right in their offices, is particularly obnoxious, to the under tenants, Ryotts and other inhabitants of the lower orders. Frequent instances of dissatisfaction on this score are to be found in other parts of the country longer subjected to the British Government and where the General benefit of the laws and regulations is more readily acknowledged. But there appears to be no remedy for such evils. The prevention of them may be said to be in the power of the

zemindars originally by the exercise of good faith and punctuality in regard to their revenue payments and by prudence and industry in the management and appropriation of their private means. But if after all consistent moderation and forbearance on the part of the public authorities, the Malguzars of Government will not or cannot, make good their instalments of the public dues, there would seem to be no alternative than to recur to public sales the evils or hardships of which ensue from the default of the Malguzars themselves.

Though it may be alleged that extensive public sales have taken place since the acquisition of the District it must also be admitted that such measure was the necessary and legal consequence of the introduction of the Code of Regulation established in Bengal and is in fact the only mode of realizing the revenue with any punctuality, whilst the backwardness of the zemindars generally in the Province of Cuttack to make good their engagements has perhaps induced the necessity of public sales comparatively more frequently than in other Districts. But although the mode of procedure was in some measure new, its effect was not so (as far as relates to the alienation of property for it was no unusual thing under the Marhatta Government for the local authorities to sequester the Estates of defaulting zemindars and to transfer them temporarily or permanently to others, without any adequate or equivalent provision for the extended proprietors or without any return to them of surplus price or proceeds after liquidation of the rublic demand for which the Estates had been so transferred. At the same time neither this right or usage of the ruling power seems to have been disputed.

6. That the sales in Cuttack have at any time been marked with particular rigour (excepting perhaps the case of Pranadhan Choudhury lately noticed by Government) cannot be admitted. In some instances unusual forbearance has been shown, especially in regard to the property of Rajah Mookund Deo who, whether he may have been the bare and tame tool of Jagabandhu in the recent disturbances without alleging any pretext, or whether he may have urged as a plea of grievance the attachment and khas management of his Estates, has been undoubtedly an object of peculiar levity— Pergunnah Limbai stands at a Jumma of Rs. 31,278. On the close of the past year 1223 Umlee there was a balance of Rs. 15, 113 outstanding against the Rajah who had, under the option given by Regulation 6 of 1816, relinquished the Estate; but afterwards

expressed a wish to resume it, which was acceded to conditionally, namely that he should agree to liquidate the arrear within a reasonable and stipulated time. Being unwilling in this condition the Estate remained under khas management burthened with the above balance for which it was unquestionably liable to sale. The Mofussil settlement of the above year (made by the Rajah) was Rs. that proposed by the Collector for the present year is Rs.

The circumstances of Kotedes the property of Narayan Choudhury may also be adduced in support of the observation regarding forbearance from precipitating Public sales. The circumstances of this Estate are somewhat similar to those of Limbai except that the Proprietor actually agreed to the public sale of the Estate, provided it was disposed of in fractional portions, or in the event of its remaining under the officers of Government. He consented to the appropriation of his Malikanah towards the liquidation of the Balance though the proposed fund would scarcely suffice to discharge the accruing interest. The sale however has not been resorted to and the Estate has bean thrown on the hands of Government with an arrear of Rs, 88969 being by Rs. 12,222 less than the suddar Jumma. Sales of land to the public officers of Government are noticed by the Collector as a source of considerable discontent amongst the zemindars and others of Cuttack and are deemed by him no suppositions grievance; purchases at a public sale by a native officer of the Revenue Department or by any private servant or dependant of the Collector or his assistant are illegal and liable to forfeiture; it must therefore be concluded that such purchases must be under fictitious names and they also are liable to forfeiture whether made by any public officer of any department or by a private individual and by the orders of Government in the year 1811, all Judicial officers required to deliver a faithful account of their landed property or possessions periodically. The objectionableness of native officers holding Estates within the District where they are employed or purchasing at public sales is forcibly urged by the Collector in this report as well as on former occasions and the Board conceive that the mischiefs are of sufficient importance to propose to Government that in future no public officers of any department shall acquire lands in their names, the names of their children, relations, or dependants or in any way, direct or indirect whatsoever, in the districts wherein they hold official employ. With regard to such Estates in the Province of Cuttack as have already passed into the hands of public native

officers by public or private sale. The Board are not immediately prepared to determine what retrospective measures can be pursued. Perhaps it may be expedient in special cases, to require the public officers to dispose of their interests in the Estates altogether and to persons totally unconnected with themselves or to adopt the alternative of resigning their official situations, when of course they may retain possession as private individuals.

At the same time it must be admitted that public and private renters are also liable to extortion from money lenders in order to raise funds for their periodical payments and the difficulty of procuring specie may occasion inconvenience. The Board entertain considerable doubts whether a general and indiscriminate remission of interest on arrears of revenue would be expedient or politic. The universal tendency of the landholders to procrastinate their payments urgently requires that some consequence of penalty or loss should be known to impose on their default which would operate more effectually towards punctuality than the bare sense of good faith. At the same time the Board would always be disposed to attend to the suggestions of the Collector in particular cases and to exercise the latitude granted to them in regard to supervisions or remissions of interest under clause II Section XXVIII, page 19, para of Regulation V of 1812.

The zemindars of the Province of Cuttack would not appear to be such sufferers from the depreciation of couries or from the circulating medium in couries as the Ryotts and the lower orders of the community are; indeed it would seem from the Collector's report that the zemindars are only sufferers when by the exorbitant rate of exchange at which they will consent to receive couries in lieu of coin (the engagements of the Ryotts being for sicca rupees by conversion from couries at a fixed rate) they drive their Ryotts to the utmost distress and to ultimate desertion of the lands for the cultivation of which they are then obliged to invite Pahi Ryotts and consequently to reduce the Nerickh or rate of rent. Any measure which could tend to diminish and eventually to abolish both the accounts and the payments of land rent in couries would be a great desideratum and perhaps the only mode of putting a stop to the exactions and arbitrary prices which the zemindars and shroffs now affix to couries in exchange for silver; but how to substitute effectually a sufficiency of silver and copper currency, completely to serve instead of the present couris circulating medium appears to be difficult in scheme and in accomplishment.

20. The experiment of introducing copper pice is reported to have failed through the opposition of shroffs and principal zemindars interested in the traffic of couries, and preventive measures against such combination do not appear to have been contemplated or recommended.

21. Though it must be ultimately very advantageous to abolish the oppressive system of revenue accounts and payments in couries, it may be apprehended that any sudden alteration in the exchange on the fixing maximum price of couries will affect the public revenue, for instance, if the rate of exchange be confined to 5 khawns per rupee the Ryott who now pays 40 rupees for 160 khawns will only have to pay rupees 32 and thus unless the zemindar be enabled to meet the difference by enhancing the Nerikh or rate of the lands. he must be a loser in a portion of his private rents what are the means of furnishing his public revenue.

22. From what has been before observed of the wages of the zemindars towards their Ryotts in regard to the courie currency, (and that the Collector imputes, to the combination of the principal zemindars and monied men of the District, many of the obstacles opposed to the substitution of a copper currency) it would not appear that the recent disturbances can be traced with any probability to that source as far as the zemindars or other persons of property, may have been implicated in them, and with respect to the lower orders it is but too well known that they are induced to participate in such crimes without comprehension of causes and effects or any reflection on grievances and their remedies.

23. On the third head it must be observed that the miserable condition of the Ryotts in the Province of Cuttack appears to be owing principally to the arbitrary and exorbitant exactions to which they are subjected by the zemindars and mahajans in the adjustment of their account and in the exchange backwards and forwrads from couries to rupees and rupees to couries.

24. The Collector also intimates that in Estates which have passed from the Proprietors by private or public sales or other description of transfer, unwarrantable demands had been made upon the Ryotts.

25. The Board apprehend that there is but too much reason for this supposition and that discretion and emigration amongst this class of people have lattsrly increased considerably.

26. At the same time the Collector expresses his confident expectation that if the Ryotts were fairly treated, they might subsist upon the produce of their lands and labour, as well as the same order of people elsewhere. To this end it would appear that he had ascertained the Nerikh of the lands for a long antecedent period and formed therefrom average rates for different descriptions of soil and crops, which if adhered to by the zemindars, (together with the better adjustment of the courie medium) would conduce to ameliorate the condition of the Ryotts greatly.

27. The Board fully concur with the Collector in his opinion that nothing would tend more to prevent imposition, establish certainty of account and regularity of payment and inspire mutual confidence than the exchange of written and formal engagements between them and the zemindars, and the Board formerly issued instructions to the Collector to promote the measure as much as he consistenly could. But the Stamp Regulations in force precluded them from sanctioning the compulsory use of stamps in the interchange of such engagements.

28. The Board are also of opinion that the mofussil instalments or payments of rent by the ryotts to the zemindar require to be better regulated and adopted to the seasons of Harvest and the time of disposing of the products of the soil, both with a view to the accommodation of the former whose means of payment depend entirely upon the sale of his crops, and with a view to the better security of the latter who should only look to those periods for the realization of his rents.

29, If the Ryott be obliged to anticipate funds he can only do so at an immence charge for premium, interest and security and is probably saddled also with a shaenas or watchman to prevent his making away with or disposing elsewhere of his crops which he may have mortgaged to the person from whom he has taken up the money.

30. On the other hand if the Ryott be allowed to dispose of his harvests long previous to the period of his heavier kists he is neither restrained by foresight nor honesty from squandering his substance and is left utterly destitute of means or credit when the day of payment comes round.

31. The price and difficulty of procuring alienatory salt would appear from the Collector's report to be a great grievance particularly to the lower orders of people in the Province of Cuttack and though the Collector dces not seem in impute the recent signs of discontent and disaffection to that source, some measures

towards the promotion of the welfare and comfort and wholesome subsistence of the community in respect of this essential commodity of life would seem to be called for but without further information than the Board are at present possessed of or than it likely to be acquired from the Revenue Department exclusively, they cannot venture to offer their opinion as to the remedy of the evil.

32. The sum of the collector's report would rather lead to the inference that the causes, assigned for the discontent prevalent throughout the district of Cuttack were not the principal, perhaps not the real sources of the late distrubances. The prime mover Jagabandhu would appear to have had other views than the amelioration of the condition of the inhabitants of the Province and though he availed himself of the Name and Rank and former State and influence of the Rajah of Khoordah to invite partizans and to hold out inducements of beneficial charge, it is not directly stated or clearly deducible from this report that he or his accomplices attempted to desseminate orders by any detail of particular grievances.

33. The landed interest of the Province would naturally be averse from that system of administration which, seeking the advantage of the State, may operate against private emolument, and draw to light resources which they were combining to withhold and to conceal, and the circumstances of short and fluctuating settlements must likewise be obnoxious to them.

Thus late temporary settlements may have occasioned some discontent and may have tended to discourage improvement.

34. The periods, even from the formation of the settlement, were too limited to stimulate such of the zemindars as had capital to the outlay of it with any prospect of commensurate profit. It was notified to them that on the renewal of every settlement (terminal or quarternial) they would be called upon to contribute a proportion of the increase arising from extended and improved resources and when the necessity of improvement was not rendered obligatory by the allotment of a progressive jumma on the waste lands capable of being brought into cultivation or by the stipulation that if within a sufficient time (graduated by the extent of waste and the additional agricultural population requisite) such lands should not have been brought into cultivation they would be liable to be appropriated and resumed; where such obligation was

not improved, the landholders were rather promtped to deteriorate their estates in order to drive a bargain for a low assessment than to attend to the improvement of them.

35. The Collector has more than once submitted his opinion that "a Permanent Settlement could not fail to be agreeable to the District, but that unless such Settlement was to be made for a certain number of years progressive in its jumma the interests of Government would suffer materially." In another part of the present report he states that "as ten years is fully sufficient to bring into cultivation waste lands it would be more satisfactory to the District and equally advantageous to Government to make a settlement which for 10 years (or less as circumstances may suggest) should be progressive in its jumma, such Russad of course to depend on the lands to be added to the produce of the Estate and to give the zemindars a promise at once, that this settlement should be permanent and no further alteration whatever made respecting it,"

36. The Board are not prepared to concur with the Collector in the expediency of this anticipatory pledge of permanency, which has in other instances so excempted the power and means of Government.

37. The Collector acknowledges that the zemindars expect or profess to require a profit of 50 per cent on their Estates, and that they already enjoy 250 per cent; further that they are unwilling to make allowance for or that any notice should be taken of, lands out of cultivation; surely these circumstances and the obstacles to which they lead are sufficient objections against any other pledge of permanency than that such Estates, as shall be in a state of cultivation to warrant the conclusion of a Permanent Settlement that such as are sufficiently ascertained as to their assets to admit of fixing the assessment on the principle of leaving a net income to the proprietors of 10 per cent on the jumma exclusive of the charges of collection, shall be permanently assessed and remain fixed for ever.

38. Considering the impoverished state of the Province of Cuttack, the want of Capital and of agricultural population and the proof of the inefficiency of short Settlements to effect the improvement and extend the cultivation of the lands; and that in order to render the resources therefrom ultimately available, it might be worthwhile to consent to a temporary sacrifice of revenue.

The Board would be disposed to recommend a decennial Settlement at an adequate jumma for the lands now in cultivation and a small progressive jumma at a rate per computed biga for waste lands during that term subject afterwards to a full rate of assessment with a reservation for the resumption and approbation or disposal of any cosiderable tracts of waste that may have been left through the mismanagement or negligence of the decennial Malguzars.

H. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government to R. Rocke and W. O. Salmon, Members of the Board of Revenue.

24 October 1817

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copy of two extracts from the proceedings of Government, in the Judicial Department under dates the 16th ultimo and 10th instant together with copy of a resolution this day passed on the subject of the various questions connected with the Revenue Department which have come under discussion in consequence of the recent importunate events in the District of Cuttack.

2. You will of course issue particular instructions to the Collector of Cuttack to aid the Commissioners who have been appointed under the orders contained in the above extract, in the enquiries to which their attention has been directed and in the general discharge of the functions allotted to them, as far as they be influenced by his proceedings.

3. The Vice President in Council will expect from Mr. Trower not merely that species of Official assistance, which might be sufficient on ordinary occasions, but that zealous and cordial co-operation, which the present state of the District of Cuttack so urgently demands. It has appeared to the Vice President in Council the more necessary to express his sentiments distinctly on this point, as the discord which has latterly prevailed among the public functionaries in that quarter, if it has not fomented, the existing disturbances has at least greatly embarrassed Government in its endeavours to apply a proper remedy to the evil.

4. The Resolutions this day passed by Government which accompany this letter, will put your Board fully in possession of the present views of Government in regard to the management of the revenue concerns of the District of Cuttack.

5. From these you will discern that it is the wish of the Vice President in Council that the arrangements to be adopted for the settlement of the District should be considered in the

most comprehensive manner, and while the general subject is under consideration, the Collector and your Board will of course be guided by the existing Regulations,

6. It may probably be found expedient to render the present settlement quinquennial throughout the District, or even to extend it for a further period. But until Government shall pass specific orders on that point, you will instruct the Collector generally to restrict the term of the settlement formed by him to the period fixed by Regulation 16,1816.

7. Under this rule the Settlements which have been made by Mr. Trower for several Mehals for 5 and 10 years respectively will of course be subject to modification.

8. With respect to the Estates belonging to the Rajah of Khoordah, it is the wish of the Government that they should as far as possible be kept open for the adoption of any arrangement which may hereafter appear advisable.

9. It will probably be expedient to avoid if possible, holding these Estates, Khas, but you will inform the Collector that all settlements of the lands lying within them, which he may now conclude whether with the Surberakars or others must be limited to the present year, and where engagements have actually been entered into for a longer period, that they should be modified accordingly.

10. Under this Resolution it will be intimated to the persons who engaged for the pergunnah of Limbai that their lease will be liable to be annulled by Government at the expiration of the present year 1225 Umlee.

11. A corresponding option of relinquishing their engagements must of course be granted to them; and if they consent to continue their engagements, and other considerations do not appear to Government to render it expedient to annul them with a view to the admission of the proprietor, the Vice President in Council would certainly consider the parties to have an equitable claim to be maintained in possession for the full period for which they have engaged, without any enhancement of jumma, in preference to any other persons offering to farm the Mehal.

12. The fuller information which the documents referred to in the above resolution have conveyed to Government on the subject of the depreciation of the courie currency appears to the Vice President in Council to render it necessary to recur to the orders passed by Government under date the 15th November last in which a reduction of the allowances assigned to the persons attached to the temple at Juggernath was provisionally sanctioned.

13. In those orders the attention of your Board, and the Collector was specifically drawn to the enquiry how far the grounds on which the Collector recommended the above measure were well founded. But under the impression that the allowances in question were unnecessarily large, and that some portion might be applicable to purposes for which a specific amount in couries had been assigned by ancient usage, Government did not object to the reduction proposed by the Collector, and recommended by your Board.

14. From the correspondence which has since passed on the general subject of the courie currency the Vice President in Council sees ground to entertain still stronger doubts of the propriety of the measure, than were expressed in the above others, and is desirous, in the event of the reduction having been made, that your Board should revise your determination on the subject, and again submit the case to Government.

15. The original papers which accompanied the letter from your Board of the dates noted in the margin are herewith returned, copies having been made for the records of Government.

C. Becher, Salt Agent at Cuttack, to T. Plowden, Acting Secretary to the Board of Trade, Salt Department.

18th May, 1817.

I have the honour to acknowledge your latter of the 24th Ultimo, and enclosed therein, a copy of a letter from Mr. Secretary Bayley to the Magistrate of Cuttack, requiring me to report on such points alluded to in the Enclosure as appertain to the Salt Department.

2. The question alluding to the Salt Department is as follows: The enhanced price of salt and the difficulty of obtaining it even at an advanced price.

3. The extension of the Salt Monopoly to the Southern Division of Cuttack, has been like new Tax action in all parts of the World, naturally a source of temporary complaint, and its effect upon the public mind is too recently impressed, not to form a prominent feature in the many grievances which are supposed to have given birth to the prevailing Insurrection in Khoordah and its vicinity; but it affords me much satisfaction to assure the Board, backed by Official Documents demonstration, that the sales of Government salt have been sufficiently extensive to afford ample provision for the inhabitants of Cuttack and the neighbouring States and that they have gradually increased annually.

(1) Corresponding with the calculation just made by the Captain, Roberts now at Cuttack in the Commissariat Department on subject of local consumption.

4. The quantity of salt sold in the Province for the three last years, amounts, upon an average, to maunds 151,035, which upon a calculation of the daily consumption of each individual at 1/2 a Chhittack (1), provides for 5,37,013 souls per annum.

5. The average retail price of salt in the District, formed from the Chokey weekly reports in the office, amounts to Rupees 3-4-0 per maund, and supposing 1/2 a Chittack to be the daily consumption of each individual, which is very liberal, his proportion per annum stands him in annas 14 and 7 pies—this is utmost individual expense for salt even at the present price of the article—thus it must appear very improbable, that a whole country should assemble arms against the State or that the present Insurrection should be attributed to the price of salt, or the difficulty of obtaining it.

6. The real grievance existing in Cuttack with respect to the Salt, and the cause of its becoming an object of complaint is, that previous to the extension of the Monopoly, all the Head men of Villages (Mokuddums) which are productive of salt, enjoyed an enormous profit upon the manufacture under the following arrangement with their Mulunghees. It was usual to assess all such lands at the rate of half their product in salt, and the Mokuddums were in the habit of collecting revenue in salt, and of bartering grain with their Molunghees for the remaining half of their annual manufacture, thus monopolizing individually the trade in the article as far as their forms of one or more villages extended; they sold their salt to all the neighbouring merchants at a considerable advance upon its original cost, and after paying the amount of revenue to the Zemindar, the profit to Mokuddums was still great, and the loss of it, by the recent extension of the Monopoly, is not likely to escape their attention—in the present opportunity of stating grievances, and as they are only interested in seeing things return to their former system by a relinquishment of the Hon'ble Company's monopoly under an inverstigation of their grievances they will naturally suit their complaints to that object, and urge the hardship of being obliged to pay now so high a price for the article, which was so cheap before, without adverting to the scrutiny; their complaints, and the object in making them, will meet with.

7. The annual average number of Rowannahs issued to merchants to cover my sales of salt at the Office for the last three years, is 1203, all to cover sales in District Lots, the sales are open from 10 O' clock in the morning till six in the evening daily, and are most assuredly free to all merchants who wish to become purchasers of quantities from 20 maunds to any extent, and it clearly is my interest to extend my sales as much as possible, as by

the favour of Government I am allowed to derive a commission upon the amount sold annually. I never have heard the slightest complaint of any difficulty in obtaining salt from the Office, nor do I believe any such complaint does really exist to the prejudice of the Trade in any part of the Province, nor that the introduction of the public monopoly, further than the loss of its advantages to those who before enjoyed them.

8. In Bengal the price of Salt is nearly, if not quite, double what it is in this District. If therefore the price of the article in this Province is to be considered a source of grievance, it can only be by comparison with times antecedent to the extension of the Hon'ble Company's Monopoly.

9. The average price of salt of the Hon'ble Company's public sales in Calcutta, for the sake of example, we will suppose to be 350 Rupees per 100 Maunds—this Salt sold in retail, after passing through the several degrees of Traders, I know from experience, never falls short of Rupees 5 per maund, and more commonly sells for 6 Rupees at a distance from the Presidency which is within 4 annas per maund of being double the price of the Cuttack Trade.

10. My sales (2) in 1816 have fallen short of the year preceding, which accounts for the scarcity now in the market, but this to be attributed to the frequent alarm which has prevailed in the District during that period of the approach of Pindarees, and that alarm has this effect upon the Trade no doubt can be entertained, since the sales at my office have now entirely ceased, in consequence of the prevailing Insurrection in Khoordah, and not a grain has been sold since the 8th of April last.

(2) In 1814— mds. 110967.23.12
1815— 182914.12.0
1816— 159283.32.8

11. The quantity of salt in the market (see my letter of the 1st instant) is not at the present moment more than sufficient for consumption of the District for 18 days, and as this scarcity is to be accounted for by a stagnation of the public sales for so short a period as one month, the poverty of the Trade generally is demonstrated beyond a doubt, and if any difficulty does exist in obtaining salt, it must originate in the confined scale of the market individually, the merchants who trade in salt, mostly Ooriahs, whose means will only allow them to purchase in small quantities, and generally speaking, in single Lots, they are, none of them, men of property, and before they embark in a second speculation, they are

obliged to settle their accounts with their Creditors. Thus it is; that the market continues precarious in its supplies and subject to distress, if in the event of alarm, or from any other cause, the public sales should be interrupted.

12. The price paid for salt at my office to the wholesale dealer, is per maund 2 Rupees, the expense of conveying his salt mostly by land carriage, is considerable, and when the usurious rate of interest, wastage, risk, and various indispensable charges are brought into calculation, it does not appear to be exorbitant that he should charge 30 per cent upon his Trade, including all his expenses; this is the rate (3), upon an average, at which I understand the wholesale dealer disposes of his Rowannah salt to pherriahs or retailers, always upon credit, and consequently at a great risk. Retailers receive their supplies from the wholesale merchants in small quantities, and expose it for sale in all neighbouring Hauts and Bazars. The quantity usually entrusted upon credit to Pherriahs is from 5 to 10 maunds, and the expense to them of storing the salt, and conveying it about from market to market, together with the waste, is great, yet their sales average only 20 per cent upon prime cost which leaves them clear profit of about half.

(3) Rupees 2-10-0

13. What I have above stated, alludes to the District at large, or such portion of it as embraces the salt Trade at places distantly situated from the manufacturing Aurungs, and has little or nothing to do with Khoordah, the present immediate object of Report.

14. In the Khoordah Estate, the salt sales are confined as scarcely to deserve notice, the quantity sold for the consumption of Khoordah from my office since the extension of the monopoly, amounts to maunds 3,626, almost the whole of Khoordah is supplying as all other Pergunnahs are so situated with smuggled salt from the Bhoosoondpore pangah salt Aurung, which is centrally positioned in that Estate, and also from the Chilka Lake, which borders thereon. This evil is well known to prevail in every agency, and all the vigilance in the World will not prevent it. It is not to be credited therefore that the present disturbed state of Khoordah can have originated in a scarcity of salt, a difficulty of obtaining the excessive price of it, or in any grievance applicable to the Monopoly, further as I have before stated than the loss experienced by the Head men of Villages who formerly reaped its advantages and Zemindars who

partook of the same trade. The price of salt in Khoordah before the introduction of the Monopoly, was of course much more moderate than it now is, and did not exceed 14 annas per maund, for I purchased it in Khoordah for my own consumption when there at that rate.

15. I have been thus explicit in my Report upon the grievances supposed by Government to originate in the high price of salt, and the difficulty of obtaining it in the Provincial markets in the hope of establishing, to the satisfaction of Government, and the Board, the improbability of their existence to any alarming extent, and that the followings points quoted from Official Records, will be received in proof, that the Monopoly has not been comparatively oppressive to the inhabitants of this Province, and further that the stated grievances can only originate in a desire to turn the trade into the hands of those, who before enjoyed its sweets,

First. That the market price of salt in Oorishah is very little, more than half the price of the article in Bengal.

Secondly. That the annual public sales of salt in Cuttack, are equal to the consumption of upwards of 5,37,000 sauls.

Thirdly. That the salt consumed by each individual, does not stand him in more than annas 14 and 7 pies per annum at the average price of salt in the District.

Fourthly. That the sale of salt, at the Cuttack Salt Offices, is free and open, daily and all day to any and all persons wishing to become purchasers at the Government price, or per maund 2 rupees.

Fifthly. That the number of Lots sold at the Cuttack salt office in the last three years, amounts to 3,610, each lot distinctly covered by a Rowannah, and destined to any market in the Province at the pleasure of the merchants.

Sixthly. That it is the interest of the Salt Agent to extend his public sale of salt to the utmost and that these sales have annually increased, the following statement clearly proves.

QUANTITY OF SALT SOLD

In	1811	Maunds	1,06,326/39/8
	1812	do	1,23,867/23/8
	1813	do	1,29,447/20/8
	1814	do	1,10,957/23/12
	1815	do	1,82,914/12/0
	1816 (4) ...	do	1,59,233/32/8

(4) See para 10

16. In submitting this present Report to the Board, I have strictly confined my observations relative to the prevailing Insurrection to my own Department, and I most anxiously hope that the minute explanation I have given of the grievances stated to exist to the prejudice of the Agency and derogatory to the primary constitution of the Monopoly may prove satisfactory.

G. Udny and J. P. Larkins, Board of Trade, Salt Department to H. E. the Governor General in Council.

27 May 1817

In compliance with the orders of your Lordship in Council, communicated to us in Mr. Acting Secretary Mackenzie's letter, dated the 18th Ultimo. we duly transmitted to the Agent of Cuttack a copy of the extract from the proceedings of Government in the Judicial Department, under date the 11th Ultimo, with instructions to furnish us with a report on such of the points therein noticed as referred to the Salt Department, and we have now the honour to forward to your Lordship in Council a copy of a letter received from the Agent in reply, under date the 8th instant.

2. With reference to the 6th paragraph of the Agent's letter, we are unable to understand what meaning is intended to be conveyed by the expression "previous to the extension of the Monopoly". The Monopoly in the Northern Divisfon of Cuttack was established shortly after the conquest of the Province in 1803, that is, fourteen years ago and therefore it is not conceivable that the charge which has for so long a period been submitted to, apparently without remonstrance, and which would at the time have been felt as a hardship much more than it can be felt now, should have occasioned the recent disaffection of the inhabitants of Cuttack. If by the extension of the Monopoly be meant its extension to the southern Division of Cuttack we are at a loss to perceive how this can have caused the Insurrection at Khoordah, because although some zomindars and headmen of villages may have suffered by it, yet it appears from the 14th paragraph of the Agent's letter, that the inhabitants of that District have subsisted chiefly on sumggled salt.

3. It would appear from the remarks made by the Agent in the 8th Paragraph of his letter, that every facility is afforded to the merchants for the purchase of salt, and that a considerable quantity has been sold to them; it is besides so evidently the interest of the Agent to extend his sales to the utmost, that we can readily give credit to what is asserted by him in the Paragraph in question.

4. With regard to the observation of the price of salt in Bengal being nearly, if not quite, double what it is in Cuttack, we are of opinion that no argument can be drawn from

this circumstances because previous to the conquest of the Province, the price of salt in Cuttack was said to be extremely low, so that its subsequent advance to half the Bengal price, might still be felt as a grievance.

5. We have the honour to forward to your Lordship in Council, a copy of the Agent's letter dated the 1st Instant, adverted to in the 11th paragraph of his letter now under consideration, together with a copy of our orders issued to the Agent on the occasion; we have since received Mr. Becher's reply to these orders, wherein he observes that the expense of transportation proposed in his letter of the 1st instant, to be charged to the merchant over and above the stated rate of 2 Rupees per maund, is only an expense which the merchants themselves would incur; under this explanation therefore we have granted the Agent permission to make the additional charge for transportation in the manner suggested in that letter, and as from the unsettled state of the District it seems indispensable to furnish supplies of salt to the inhabitants, we have approved of the measures adopted by Mr. Becher of providing several of the cholies under his authority with a supply of salt for the consumption of the Province from the stores.

6, On a consideration of the remarks detailed in the 12th paragraph of the Agent's letter, the advantages to the wholesale dealers and to the retailers respectively, do not appear to us to be unreasonable upon the whole the explanation submitted by the Agent, appear to us, as far as they go, to be satisfactory, and we concur in opinion with the Agent, that the Insurrection in Cuttack cannot be attributed to the price of salt, or the difficulty of obtaining it. We consider it necessary however to observe that the Agent has omitted to notice in his report a cause of grievance to the zemindars in the Northern Division of Cuttack, and to the Molunghies in that Division, by the limitation of the manufacture since the salt year 1220; distress to the Molungies, and the great dissatisfaction which the zemindars would experience, was pointed out by the Agent in his letters of the 29th October and 10th November, 1813, copies of which were submitted to Government with our address dated the 15th March 1814. However from the improductiveness of the present Salt season, the limitation of the manufacture in Cuttack may be withdrawn next year, and most probably for a continuance afterwards.

H. Mackenzie, Secretary to Government, Territorial Department to O. Udny, Acting President and Member, Board of Trade in the Salt Department.

30 August 1817

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 27th May and 10th June with their respective enclosures.

2, The Vice President in Council is entirely disposed to concur in the opinion expressed by your Board that the causes of the Insurrection in the District of Cuttack are in all probability wholly unconnected with the high price of salt and the difficulty of procuring that article.

3. The report of the Salt Agent appears however scarcely sufficiently explicit or detailed to enable Government to form a clear judgment in regard to the degree in which the operations of the Salt Department may have been calculated to curtail the comforts or interrupt the quiet of the people of the District, and of their tendency so far to create a spirit of disaffection towards our Government,

4. All the information regarding the population of the District, of which Government is in possession, is too uncertain to afford the ground of any conclusive opinion respecting the adequacy or inadequacy of the supply furnished by the sales held by the Agent to meet their wants.

5. Mr. Becher remarks that the average quantity sold by him in each is sufficient to supply the annual consumption of 5,37,013 sauls and the allowance of 1/2 a Chattack daily or nearly 11-1/2 seers per annum for each person appears to be abundantly liberal, after full advertence to the circumstance that the quality of the food ordinarily in use among the inhabitants of Orissa is such as to render necessary the consumption of a more than usual quantity of salt.

6. The average consumption of each person in Bengal has been estimated by a highly respectable author as seldom exceeding even when salt is cheapest 12 pounds per annum or little more than 1/2 of the quantity assigned in Mr. Becher's calculation.

7. On the other hand Mr. Richardson, late Commissioner in Cuttack estimated the population of the District at from 14 to 15,00,000 souls, and although that estimate would appear to be overcharged still the information afforded by that officer would lead to the conclusion that the number assumed by Mr. Becher is too low.

8. Before coming to any conclusion on the point now discussed it would further be necessary to know what proportion of the salt sold by the Agent in Cuttack is designed for exportation to foreign Territories. But as already intimated the main fact of the extent of the population of the District is still uncertain, that the Vice President in Council would be inclined to lay little stress on any argument founded merely on a comparison of the aggregate quantity of Salt sold with the supposed extent of the demand.

9. It would have been satisfactory to Government to have received an accurate comparison of the usual market price of the article at the period of our conquest of the Province with that, at which it is now disposed of, together with information in regard to the effect of the extension of the monopoly under the rules of Regulation 22, 1814, on that price in the Northern as well as southern Division of the District.

10. Such a statement would afford to Government a much more accurate ground of opinion than any comparison with the Calcutta Market, which, you justly intimate, cannot form any fair criterion of the degree, in which the present price of salt in Cuttack may be felt to be burthensome.

11. The Salt Agent appears in some degree to conceive that the exclusive trade in salt, which is stated by him to have been possessed by the mocuddums of the several Villages, tended to enhance the price of the article nearly in an equal degree with the monopoly of Government and that the loss sustained by those persons is the chief effect prejudicial to private interest, which

the salt monopoly is calculated to induce. Every Information however before Government would lead to the conclusion that the profits of those persons were very moderate or at least that, notwithstanding their alleged exclusive trade (which by Mr. Becher is rather inaccurately termed a monopoly) the price of salt was extremely low.

12. In so far therefore the operation of the monopoly of Government must, it may be imagined, have curtained the comforts of the people.

13. This however, as the agent justly intimated, must be the effect of all Taxation, and by the above observations it is certainly not the design of the Vice President in Council to intimate an opinion of the expediency of resigning this source of Revenue in the District of Cuttack, nor would he be understood as intimating that the excess of the retail price above the cost of manufacture is to be taken for proof that the Tax is oppressive in its operation. In our own country and indeed in almost all Countries, in which the article has been made a subject to Taxation, the amount of duty has always manifold exceeded the prime cost, and the salt monopoly of this Country considered therefore as a tax, is by no means to be deemed unprecedented in its extent.

14. All the reasons too, which have ordinarily led to the imposition of a heavy Tax on this article, would appear to exist in peculiar force in this Country, and generally speaking it may be doubted whether a less vexatious mode of levying the duty could be devised than the system of a Government Monopoly.

15. But though the Vice President in Council entertains these sentiments on the subject considered in a general point of view, he sees some ground for apprehending that the price of salt in the District in question has been too rapidly enhanced.

16. Any sudden increase in the price of salt, like that of any Tax on the necessaries of life can scarcely fail to create considerable distress to the body of the people.

17. The price of the salt sold by the Agent is indeed moderate, but it appears to reach the consumer only through the intermediate Agency of two or three persons and to come to him loaded with their respective profits, which in a Country, where capital is so little abundant, are naturally high.

18. The Vice President in Council is therefore desirous that your Board should consider how far it may be practicable to give a greater facility to the internal Trade of the District by increasing the number of places of sale and reducing the number of maunds assumed by the Agent as the minimum quantity which he will consent to dispose of.

19. By this means it is conceived that the retail dealer at least, if not the consumer, might at once obtain his supplies from the Public stores, and the market price of the article would probably be considerably reduded.

20. The peculiar circumstances of Cuttack suggest also the necessity of tolerating in a certain degree illicit practices in regard to the internal sale and consumption of salt, and the expediency of limiting the attention of the public functionaries to the prevention of the traffic on a large scale.

21. To prevent all illicit vend and consumption of salt in the Districts, in which it is manufactured, especially in a District like Cuttack stretching along an extensive line of Sea Coast, must be impracticable, and too rigid enforcement of the existing rules must probably be productive of much vexation to the people with little advantage to the Revenue.

22. While the Molungee does not fail in any material degree in his engagements with Government, the Vice President in Council would not be inclined to look very narrowly into the petty traffic which he may carry on with the cultivators and Coolies in his immediate neighbourhood.

23. Still less it is the wish of Government that individuals should be molested on account of their possessing inconsiderable quantities of salt manifestly designed for their immediate consumption, although they may not be able always to explain the mode of their acquiring it

24. Although some relaxation in this manner should be allowed, yet, if the illicit vend, manufacture and transportation of salt on a large scale be strictly guarded against, the Vice President in Council conceives that no very material loss of Revenue need be apprehended; while by the rigid prosecution of an opposite course, it can scarcely be doubted that the inhabitants must be exposed to considerable disquiet.

25. It is not of course the intention of the Vice President in Council that the retail sale of salt on the part of Government should be abandoned in the District in question, and the internal traffic left free.

26. He would not even propose any alteration in the existing rules, which appear indeed (independently of the internal trade of Cuttack) to be entirely necessary for the protection of the public Revenue as connected with the prosperity of the salt sale in Cuttack.

27. Nor would the Vice President in Council be understood as intimating any opinion that the Salt Agent of Cuttack has enforced harshly the enactments of the Law.

28. In the above observation he designs merely to explain the spirit in which he conceives that those enactments ought to be acted upon, to relax in some degree what the Agent might very naturally conceive to be the obligations of his public duty, and to enlarge the discretion of that Officer, so that while he carefully guards against any material detriment to the interests specially entrusted to him, he may at the same time consider himself relieved from the necessity of rigidly enforcing the rules enacted for the protection of those interests, in cases where such an enforcement of them may obviously appear inexpedient and improper on more enlarged views of general Policy.

I. W. Therer, Accountant General, to H. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government, Territorial Department.

28 July 1817

Accountant General's Office.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, transmitting extracts of reports from the several authorities mentioned in the margin, respecting the supposed inconvenience experienced by the several classes among the inhabitants of Cuttack, from the depreciation of couries.

1. Extract from a letter from the Board of Revenue dated the 3rd June 1817.

2. Do. Do. from the Collector of Cuttack addressed to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue bearing date the 23rd May 1817 with statement No. 5

3. Do. Do. from the 4th Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit addressed to the Secretary to the Government in the Judicial Department dated 3rd May 1817.

4. Do. Do. from the Magistrate of Cuttack to the Secretary to the Government in the Judicial Department dated 2nd May 1817.

2nd. The circumstance having been stated as one of the causes to which the discontent prevalent in that District may be ascribed, the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council is desirous of being furnished with my opinion how far any real inconvenience has resulted from the Alleged cause, which it may be in the power of Government to remedy.

3rd. With this view it may be useful to enquire what complaints arising from the state of the currency in Cuttack, appear to have been brought from time to time to the notice of Government, prior to the date of any of the present reports on that subject, and what measures were adopted by Government to obviate the inconvenience complained of.

4th. Under Regulation XII, of 1805, Couries were to be receivable at the rate of four Cawons per Sicca Rupee, in payment of the Revenue of Cuttack, at the option of the landholder, until the expiration of the Willaity year 1915 (1808).

5th. The Public Accounts do not show that many landholders availed themselves of this intended indulgence, and the Collector of Cuttack explained the reason in a letter to the Accountant General dated the 1st of December 1812. At that time he observes Couries "bore a higher price, than what was the Government rate of Exchange, being then 3 Ks. 14 Ps. 10 Gs. for the Rupee; had couries therefore at that time, been to be had in plenty, of couries the Zemindars would have disposed of them at that price, in preference to paying them into the Company's Treasury at the Exhcange of 4 Ks. 2 Ps. This therefore accounts for their not having availed themselves of the indulgence; but, the fact is, couries have never been in sufficient quantities, to admit of the revenue being paid in them."

"The rate of exchange of Couries, "Mr. Trower adds "for the years 1214/15 and -16 Umlee, was as follows :—

	Rs.	Ps.	Gs.
1214	3	14	10
1215	4	0	0
1216	4	6	0."

6th. Hence it would appear that up to the year 1809, or for five years after Cuttack became subject to the British Government, no cause of discontent is to be found in "the state of the courie currency of that District."

7th. The earliest complaint which I can find respecting the Currency of Cuttack, occurs about twelve months after, in a letter from the Acting Collector Mr. Mitford, to the Board of Revenue dated the 20th September, 1810 tho' even then, no mention is made of the DEPRECIATION OF COURIES. The complaint was confined to the effect of an order which had been issued, prohibiting the receipt of Rupees of Sorts, in payment of Revenue, after the Wllaity year 1217 (1810.)

8th. The effectual remedy applied by Government on this occasion was, to annul the order, and no complaint I believe on this point has ever since been made.

9th. The alleged depreciation of couries in Cuttack, appears to have been first brought to the notice of Government in the month January 1812, and all the elucidation of the subject which was furnished, is contained in two letters one dated the 24th of December 1811 from Mr. Scott Waring, Collector of Cuttack; the other dated the first of December 1812, from Mr. Trower, his successor, the present Collector of that District. As the direct testimony of such local authorities, is of great Moment in forming a judgment of this subject, as a cause of discontent, I shall beg leave to quote largely from these two letters, for the information of Government.

10th. With Mr. Scott Waring's letter, a Petition was transmitted from the principal Zemindars of the District, wherein he observes "they complain of the heavy loss they sustain at the high rate at which they receive Rupees from their Ryotts, and the low rate they pay them into the Company's Treasury. That is, the usual rate at which they receive Rupees in the Mofussil, is from 6 to 7 Khawons, while the rate established by the Government, is 4 Khawons per sicca Rupee."

"The heavy loss does not immediately, although it will eventually, affect the Zemindars, as they take the Rupee from the Ryotts at the Company's rate; but their Estates can not be, generally speaking, sufficiently productive, to bear so heavy an advance on the Original Jumma."

"The Petitioners beg, either that Government would reduce the exchange to 4 Kawons or that it would take the couries at the rate which it has established, or make a proportionate reduction in their Jumma."

11th. Mr. Waring observed that the seriousness of the evil, and not the moderation of the Petitioners request, had induced him to bring the subject forward. He recommended either that pice shauld be introduced into the District, was to supersede the Cowry Currency, or that couries should be received pertially, in payment of Revenue, and afterwards sold for the benefit of the Zemindars.

12th. My Predecessor Mr. Egerton, to whom Mr. Waring's letter was referred, naturally supposed that some sudden influx of couries had disturbed the relation of value between Rupees and Cowries in the District, and had occasioned this depreciation from 4 Cawons to 7 Cawons per Rupee. He immediately wrote to Mr. Waring for more accurate information respecting the cause of this alleged depreciation, observing that if it were a real depreciation occasioned by an increase of the quantity of couries in circulation, the evil would soon correct itself, "as the Ryotts would in that case require 7 Cawons of Couries per Rupee in disposing of their produce, for which they formerly only required 4, which would enable them to exchange their Couries for Rupees, and pay their rents to the Zemindars without sustaining any loss."

"It will be evident," Mr. Egertor observed, "from the 2nd pargraph of your letter, if this were not the case, that the Ryotts have suffered a loss of from 50 to75 per cent, and therefore as I can hardly suppose the District is so lightly assessed, as to enable them to bear a heavy percentage, I think it but fair to conclude that the Ryotts have disposed of their produce for couries, in the manner I have supposed."

13th. Mr. Egerton's enquiries, were answered by Mr. Trower in his letter dated the 1st December 1812 which has been already cited. "When that letter was written" Mr. Trower

observes in his address to the Board of Revenue bearing date the 23rd of May last, "I had been but a very short time in the Province, but the experience of five years, has served to confirm in my mind the sentiments therein expressed "—a declaration which gives much additional weight to the evidence contained in that letter.

Extract of a letter from the Collector of Cuttack, to the Accountant General, dated 1st of December 1812.

"In the year 1216 Umlee, a petition was presented to Mr. Fauquier, at that time Collector of this District, by the Proprietor of a large Estate, praying that he might be allowed to pay in his Revenue in couries, and the Commissioner was inclined to indulge him in his request. Mr. Fauquier however was convinced that the object of the petitioner was only to create delays in the payment of the Government dues and proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioner, that the petitioner had not sufficient couries to pay up one fourth of the balance (which amounted to 11,000 Rupees) and that he could not have purchased them at any price in the Market.

"The rate of Exchange of Cowries for the years 1214-15 and -16 Umlee, was as follows :—

	Ks.	Ps.	Gs.
1214	3	14	10
1215	4	0	10
1216	4	6	0, and

Mr. Fauquier in a letter addressed to the Commissioner states "that the quantity of specie brought into the District in the year 1214, and two years antecedent, had diminished its value." That might have accounted for "Cowries keeping their price as long as they were received in payment for Revenue, but as soon as it was known that after a certain period, they would not be received in payment, at the Collector's Treasury, the Rupee became from that moment, of greater value than it had ever before been, and the Couries fell in proportion; but as there still remained a certain period, for the receipt of Couries at the Treasury and as an idea prevailed, that perhaps even when that period had elapsed, a longer time might be granted, the shroffs immediately took advantage of the fall in the value of the Cowries, and purchased them up at the rate of 5 and 6 Cawons the Rupee, and buried them in their houses, thinking to make largely by their purchase. They were however disappointed in their expectation, and many of them failed, and were obliged to quit the District, and their hoards of Cowries were thrown open to the

Market, thus affording a second cause for their depreciation, by the resepective quantities exposed for sale; and this probably, is the only time, that Cowries could have been purchased in any very large quantity".

"The rates of Exchange for the last 3 years, have been nearly as follows :—

	Ks.	Ps.	Gs.	
1217…………………	5	0	0	
1218…………………	5	12	0	
1219…………………	6	8	0,	and

even 7 Cawons; yet notwithstanding this fall, I do not beleive from the information I have, that were Government to direct me to purchase a Lac of Rupees of Cowries, I could with all my endeavours obtain anything near the quantity; and I am very certain that were the Zemindars allowed to pay their Revenue in Cowries, that they could not do it, and I am given to understand, that it was never formerly the case. That in the time of the Marhattas, though the Accounts were kept in Cowries, that the Revenue was paid in Rupees though no doubt at that time, there was a much greater demand for Cowries, as the Marhatta Troops were paid in that Currency."

"I believe we shall come nearest to the truth by stating the following Circumstances. The Circulation of the Cowries is confined to the Mofussil, there to the lowest orders of the people, but that all accounts are kept in Cowries, and in Rupees, Zemindars in this District, are generally poor and needy, yet inclined to be extravagant, and when their Kists fall due, they are under the necessity of applying to the Shroffs for advances, this advance is readily granted, provided the Shroffs are allowed to make their own terms, which are exorbitant; for instance, in advancing ten Rupees to a Zemindar, they will enter him in their Books Debtor for 70 Cowons of Cowries, but they will only receive back the Rupee at the Government rate of Exchange 4 Ks. 2 Ps. The Zemindars to enable them to bear this loss, are obliged to pursue a similar line of conduct with their under-tenants, and the consequence is, the frequent desertions from the district that take place, from people being ruined. Thus it may in fact be said that the cause of the depreciation in the value of Cowries, arises from the arbitrary demands of the Shoffs from the Zemindars, who are obliged to force their under-tenants to pay them the Couries at the same rate for the Rupee, which they pay the Shroffs, and there appears to me no other

method of affording relief to this distressed Class of people, than the endeavouring to supersede altogether the currency of Cowries, by the introduction of copper pice, which might be easily, I conceive, effected by the following means."

"It is requisite that out of the Sums disbursed for the expenses of the Temple, 12,000 Rupees should be paid in Cowries; at present, the whole amount is paid to the Purchaser in Sicca Rupees, and they provide Cowries purchasing them at the rate of 7 Cawons, and disbursing them to the Servants of the Temple at the rate of 4 Ks. 2 Ps. the Rupee, by which they gain greatly."

"I would propose that in liew of advancing the whole sum in Sicca Rupees, the Collector for two or three years, should be furnished from Calcutta with Copper pice, to the amount of 12,000 Rupees which he should send into the Mofussil to purchase Cowries for the use of the Temple, Government fixing the exchange between the pice and Cowries, at what they might consider just and equitable. The lower Classes who had Cowries, would then be able to dispose of them at a fair price, and the Copper pice would be receivable by the Zemindars from them in payment of Revenue."

"The Disbursements also for the repairs of the Bunds in this District, might be made in Copper pice; and I believe it will be generally allowed that the assistance thus afforded to the lower Classes, will be very considerable. The Cowries imported into the District in the course of the year, do not amount to more than 12,000 Rupees worth, and of these two thirds find their way out again, and probably more than that proportion."

"I am aware that the explanation I have endeavoured to afford is greatly defective, but I believe the conclusion I have drawn that the depreciation in Cowries is occasioned by the Shroffs and monied men, will be found strictly true, as well as the assertion that Cowries are not to be procured in any large quantities, and that the Zemindars could not (were they allowed) pay their Revenue in that Currency."

14th. It is not my object in this place of offer remarks on the foregoing statement but to show what measures were adopted by Government to obviate the inconvenience complained of. The remedy suggested by Mr. Trower, was immediatly adopted. The Mint Master at the Presidency was directed to remit the sum of

Thirty Thousand Sicca Rupees in Pice to Cuttack, to enable the Collector to disburse them in the purchase of Cowries for the use of the Temple, as well as in the payment of such other demands upon his Treasury as might appear to him to be most advantageous for the public service.

15th. Mr. Egerton at the same time requested the Collector of Cuttack to report to him the effect which this remittance might have in attaining the object proposed, in order that further remittances of pice might be made should it appear to be adviseable.

16th. Mr. Trower in reply furnished a Price Current of Cowries in the District for the month of May, 1813 and proposed to furnish a similar Statement monthly to enable the Accountant General to judge of the effect produced by the circulation of the Copper Coin. He noticed at the same time that the value of Cowries, had greatly increased of late.

17th. These monthly Statements were continued for 10 months, and the following is an abstract of them :—

AVERAGE ABSTRACT PRICE CURRENT OF COWRIES IN THE DISTRICT OF CUTTACK

Month	Town of Cuttack		Khoordah		Juggernauth		Joypore		Balasore	
	Purchase	Sale	Purchase	Sale	Purchase	Sale	Purchase	Sale	Purchase	Sale
	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.	Sa. Rs. K.P.G.
May 1813	4-0-0	3-14-0	5-5-0	5-3-0	0-0-0	4-14-10	5-1-7	4-15-7	5-5-0	5-3-0
June ,,	5-6-10	5-4-10	5-7-0	5-5-0	0-0-0	5-1-0	5-5-10	5-3-10	5-4-0	5-2-0
July ,,	5-10-0	5-8-0	5-14-0	5-12-0	0-0-0	5-8-11	5-6-0	5-4-0	5-5-10	5-3-10
Aug. ,,	5-7-0	5-5-0	5-14-0	5-12-0	0-0-0	5-13-10	5-10-0	5-8-0	5-6-0	5-4-0
Sep. ,,	5-5-16½	5-3-10	5-13-0	5-11-0	0-0-0	5-14-0	5-10-0	5-8-0	5-5-10	5-3-10
Oct. ,,	5-8-0	5-7-0	5-13-10	5-11-10	0-0-0	5-14-0	5-10-0	5-8-0	5-1-15	4-15-15
Nov. ,,	5-8-0	5-7-0	5-14-0	4-12-0	0-0-0	5-13-0	5-10-0	5-8-0	4-13-10	4-11-10
Dec. ,,	5-14-10	5-6-10	6-0-0	5-14-0	0-0-0	5-9-5	5-8-0	5-6-0	4-12-10	4-10-10
Jan. 1814	5-6-0	5-4-0	5-13-0	5-13-0	0-0-0	5-8-7	5-4-0	5-2-0	4-11-10	4-9-10
Feb. ,,	5-1-0	5-0-0	5-10-0	5-8-0	0-0-0	5-5-17	5-1-0	4-15-0	4-10-0	4-8-0

18th. It is observable from the foregoing abstract, that Cowries had risen in value in February 1814 in every part of the District, since the month of July preceding, and at that time eight lacs only, of the Pice which had been remitted to Cuttack, had been disbursed by the Collector.

19th. After the month of February, 1814 transmission of those Price Currents was discontinued. and no further complaint of the stats of the courie currency in Cuttack having reached this office since that date up to the reciept of your present letter, it appears to have been taken for granted that the cause of complaint had been removed.

20th. Early in the year 1814/15 however, Mr. Trower was obliged by the state of his health to leave Cuttack, and it may perhaps have been owing to that cause that no further discussion of the subiect took place.

21st. From all the foregoing Statements it may be inferred I coneive.

1stly. That during five years after Cuttack became subject to the British Government, no cause of discotent is to be found in the state of the cowrie curreucy of that District.

2ndly. That the earliest complaint which was brought to the notice of Government on the part of the inhabitants of Cuttack, of inconvenience arising from the state of the curreny, occurred in September 1810, was confined to the effect of an order prohibiting the receipt of Rupees of Sorts, in payment of Revnue and was immediately and effectually redressed on the part of Government by the annulling of that order.

3rdly. That as early as practicable after the Collector of Cuttack had brought to the notice of Government the evil alleged to have been exprienced from the depreciation of cowries in that District, and explained the nature of it, the only remedy which in that officer's opinion would afford relief, was adopted by Government, and no further complaints having been reported there was reason to conclude that the remedy had succeeded.

22nd. I now return to the immediate object of your present reference, namely how far, in my opinion, any real inconvenience has resulted to the inhabitants of Cuttack, from the alleged cause which it may be in the power of Government to remedy.

23rd. The alleged cause implies, I conceive, the existence either of a scarcity of Silver, or of a super abundance of cowries in Cuttack. Or both these causes may have operated partially to disturb that relation of value between silver, and cowries in Cuttack which as we have seen prevailed uninterruptedly during the first five years of our administration. If no just cause of complaint can be found in the state of the currency of Cuttack, it may be asked, how has it happened that discontent has been ascribed to that cause ?

24th. To these inquiries I regret to say that I have little means of affording anything like a satisfactory answer. A Nerick of prices throughout Cuttack in both Cowries and Rupees, for a series of years, would have been a useful guide towards ascertaining the relative prevalence of Rupees, or Couries, in the District. But as the Collector who appears to have bestowed much pains in considering this subject, has seldom adverted to the price at which the produce of the soil has been sold, it is hardly probable that he could now furnish such a document.

25th. When Mr. Mitford brought forward the complaint respecting Rupees of sorts in September 1810, referred to in the former part of this letter, he observed, "As from the first annexation of this Province, to the Company's Dominions, many Lacs of Rupees of sorts have been dispatched for coinage, it may be reasonably inferred that a decrease has taken place, this does not seem to be the case for the exportation of grain, and of merchandize to the Madras Territory, holding also in recollection that the Countries adjoining prevent in a great measure such a circumstance occurring, the return being made in Rupees of sorts, it is therefore evident that the importation will continue in equal force, as long as the merchant finds a ready market for them in the landholder, who in turn tenders them in payment to Government preferring that which is easily acquired to the more troublesome search for the Sicca Rupee."

26th. In reporting on Mr. Mitford's letter, Mr. Egerton shewed that from November 1804 to December 1810 or during a period of six years, the collections in Cuttack amounted on an average in Calcutta Sicca Rupees to 8,65,000 per annum, and in arcots and other Rupees of sorts to about 4,10,000 Rupees per annum. "As the Arcot Rupees, he observed, were receivable in payment of the Revenue on very favorable terms, and the landholders were not obliged to pay their Revenues in Calcutta Rupees, it is evident that

although there is a considerable Trade carried on between Cuttack and the Southern Districts, the Commercial dealings with Calcutta and the Bengal Provinces, must be much more extensive, or so large a portion of the Revenue would not have been paid in Sicca Rupees. "I do not recollect", Mr. Egerton added, "that it has ever been necessary for Government to send Calcutta Sicca Rupees to Cuttack, but considerable sums in that currency have been remitted from that District to the Presidency, nevertheless the collections still continue to be made in a much greater proportion in Sicca Rupees, than in Rupees of sorts; no complaints have ever been made of the Troops not being punctually paid in Sicca Currency; and in short there has been at all times I believe, a sufficiency of that currency to answer every demand of a public nature upon that Treasury."

27th. It has appeared that Mr. Trower, in his letter of the 1st December 1812 cites the authority of his predecessor Mr. Fauquier, "that the quantity of specie brought into the District in the year 1214 (1807) and two years antecedent, had diminished its value."

28th. Mr. Richardson the late Commissioner of Cuttack, whose course of public service had given him much experience in matters of currency, in a report on the affairs of that Province dated the 20th of December 1814 observes, "I am led to think that the circulating Capital in this Province, does not exceed the sum of 20 lacs or 25,00,000 English money; of this I reckon 1/40 to be Gold; 24/40 Silver; 4/40 Copper; and 11/40 Cowries; in other words, the amount in Gold half a Lac; Silver 12 Lacs; and Copper 2 Lacs; Cowries 5 and a half Lacs", again "The influx of silver into this Province, must be very considerable, though it would be difficult to say exactly, to what extent." Alluding to Pilgrims, Mr. Richardson added, "If for the sake of argument we allow annually 1,00,000, individuals, exclusive of the many persons resorting thither either priviledged by poverty, or permission, if each of these be supposed to exchange during his stay 5 Rupees, the quantity of silver imported will amount to above 5 Lacs; and if we likewise take into the account the exchange for Rice exported, said to be about three Lacs, it will appear that above one half of the whole Revenue is annually brought into this Province through various channels, to replenish the loss which the circulating Capital sustains."

29th. In order to bring this inquiry respecting the silver currency of Cuttack down to the latest period, I have carried on

Mr. Egerton's statement to the 30th of April last embracing a period of twelve years. This document, a copy of which I have the honour to annex for the information of Government will be found completely to establish the prevalence of Sicca Rupees, over Rupees of sorts in that District. During the six years ending in December 1810 the annual average of the collection in Cuttack, was in sicca Rupees 8,65,000, in Rupees of sorts 4,10,000. During the twelve years ending on the 30th of April last, the average collection in Sicca Rupees has been 10,44,345, in Rupees of sorts only 2,47,326.

30th. If the District········of Cuttack can bear its present rate of assessment, it must possess means I presume of disposing of its produce independently of the Government expenditure. I cannot therefore regard the annual remittances of surplus Revenue from Cuttack, in aid of the general service of Government, as a consideration belonging to the present question.

31st. In connection with this mention of the resources of Cuttack, it may however be remarked that besides the unhappy disturbances which have lately occurred in that District itself, the very unsettled state for sometime past of the Country immediately to the Southward, which formerly afforded a Market for the produce of Cuttack, may have affected its resources considerably,

32nd. Nevertheless, upon the whole, I can find no proof of any particular scarcity of silver in the District of Cuttack. It is true the Collector in his latest letter observes, " that silver is so scarce, that it is only to be purchased at an advance of from 70 to 80 per cent, on the value originally affixed to the cowrie currency by Government"; but then he immediately proceeds to shew that, "the cowrie business is principally an affair of accounts on paper, or of Dr. & Cr. between the money-lender and the Ryotts." It is elsewhere stated also that the Shroffs readily make advances, provided they are allowed to make their own terms, which implies a monopoly, not a scarcity of silver.

33rd, I submit on the other hand, whether besides the positive fact of collections in silver for a series of years, averaging upon of 12 lacs per annum, much local evidence in opposition to Mr. Trower's remark has not been adduced, in presumption at least of there being no scarcity of Silver currency in Cuttack.

34th. With regard to the superabundance of cowries in Cuttack it has appeared from Mr. Trower's letter of the 1st of December 1812 that in his opinion the cowries imported into the District. in the course of a year, do not amount to more than 12,000 Rupees worth and of these two thirds find their way out again and probably more than that proportion.

"The quantity of these shells in circulation", Mr. Richardson observes, in his report already cited, bearing date December 1814 or two years after, "I have supposed to be $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of Rupees, and I am not inclined to suppose them fewer an annual importation made from the Maldives, and other places, and exchanged for grain, amounting to the value of about 10,000 Rupees, replaces those which are wasted or destroyed."

35th. In the extract of the report of the 4th Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit indeed, which you transmitted for my information, I find it asserted that "the depression of the priee of Couries, by which the Zemindars suffer, has been chiefly occasioned by the excess of Cowries imported into the Province to pay the labourers employed on the new Road to Juggernauth"—and I understand the Magistrate of Cuttack also means, that there has been a real excess of Cowries, occasioning their depreciation, when he observes, "It must be allowed however, that the depreciation in the value of cowries, has caused the produce of the soil, to enhance in price, so that the cultivator does not in reality suffer so severely as on the first view of the case he appears to do; but this is not comprehensible to him, his ideas being alone confined to the difference between 4 Cawons and 6 or 7 Cawons of couries.

36th. Respec'able as these authorities undoubtedly are, it may be remarked that they rather touch upon this subject, than undertake to examine it, and that if they had completely established the point of a real depreciation of couries, arising from abundance, they would at the same time have established the truth of the Magistrate's assertion that "the cultivator does not in reality suffer so severely as on the first view of the case he appears to do", for the certain consequence of such a depreciation, would be a rise in the Courie price of the produce of the soil.

37th. The evidence however of the Collectors, Mr. Waring, and Mr. Trower, on this subject, seems entitled to most consideration, and the general tenor of the whole of it appears

to me to proceed on the belief that the Ryott finds no compensation, for the alleged depreciation of couries, in the greater number of them which he can obtain, in exchange for the produce of his land.

38th. It is true one remarkable exception to this observation occurs in Mr. Trower's latest letter on this subject, dated the 23rd of May last.

39th. From the following Extract it would appear that except under calamity of season, scarcity of Rupees, or any other accident, or rather if the season be favorable, and he can keep his grain till a good Market is afforded, a Ryot who engages to rent 8 Begahs of land, assessed on the whole at 162 Cawons of Cowries, which are converted into Rupees, at the rate of 4 Cawons per Rupee, making a sum of Sicca Rupees 40.8.0 for which he signs a Qubooleat, may sell his produce, and even make some profit, on terms, which shall enrble him to fulfil his engagement, by purchasing Rupees for that purpose, at the rate of from 6 to 7 Cawons the Rupee,

"All Zemindaree accounts, Mr. Trower states, "are in the first instance computed in Cowries, that being the circulating medium in the mofussil, and better understood by the Ryotts, than Rupees. A Ryott engages to rent from the landlolder Eight Beegahs of land, producing various crops, agreeably to the value of which the assessment is made and we will suppose the total assessment of the 8 Beegahs, to amount to 144 Khawons of cowries. To this is added an account Kuchas, 2 Puns per Khawon (and frequenty a long list of other demands) making on the whole 162 Khawons, which are turned into Rupees at the Government rate of Exchange of 4 Knawons per Rupee, making Sicca Rupees 40.5.0 for which sum the Ryott signs a Qubooleat. As the Mofussil, and Bazar rate of Cowries, is from 6 to 7 Khanwons the rupee, the Ryott to enable him to pay the sum for which he stands engaged, must sell the produce of his land for 280 Khawons of Cowries instead of 162, the rate at which is was calculated in the first instance; and if the season is favorable, and he can keep his grain till a good market is offered, he is sometimes able to do this, and even make some profit besides. But if from some calamity of season scarcity of Rupees, or any other accident, he is unable to pay his Revenue by the time required, he is obliged to have recourse to a Mahajun to advance him money, who debits him in his Books at the rate of 7 khawons (more or less) for the Rupee, besidss adding interest, discount, price of Stamp paper

for a Bond, etc. all of which is to be paid from the next year's produce. If instead of going to a Mahajun, he goes to his Zemindar, and offers to pay his Revenue in cowries, the Landholder will not receive them at the rate at which he originally assessed the Land, 162 Khawons, bnt demands 7 Khawons the Rupee, as the qubooleat was signed for Sicca Rupees, which he himself pays to Government. Thus the Ryott loses in the exchange from 2 to 3 Khawons, becomes involved in Debt, and deserts the Estate, the conesquence of which is that the Zemindar is obliged to let out his lands to Paee Ryotts (residing in other Estates) at a reduced nerick, and in his turn becomes a sufferer from the Cowries Exchange. "

40th. Nevertheless, referring to his letter of the 1st December 1812 Mr. Trower observes. " I stated, that were I desired to purchase a Lac of Rupees of Cowries at the Bazar price, I could not effect it, and I am still of the same opinion"; again, "I am told that not a doubt is to be entertained, that in the event of Government receiving Cowries into the Treasury at 4 Khawons, or any rate it might be thought proper to fix, the mofussil rate would in a very short tlme fall down Ks. 3. P. 8." These remarks, surely imply, that there in no depreciation of Cowries arising from abundance.

41st. Under the circumstance of the depreciation of of cowries in Cuttack, having been alleged to be one of the causes to which the discontent prevalent in that District, may be ascribed I have felt it to be my duty to lay before Government all the evidence bearing directly on the currecy of Cuttack, which the records of my office afford, from the enactment of Regulation XII, of 1805 down to the latest report received on this subject—I might otherwise have ventured at once to infer, from the strong presumption afforded by the fact of increasing collections in Sicca Rupees, during the last twelve years and by the concurrent testimonies of Mr. Richardson and Mr. Trower, as to the trifling amount of the annual importation of Couries into Cuttack, that the state of the currency of that District, must rather have improved, than have given any just cause of discontent to any Class of the inhabitants.

42nd. The truth appears to be, that the existence of a cowrie currency, no longer receivable in payment of Revenue, has heen made the occasion of exaction and oppression, or as Mr. Trower himself justly expresses it, "Thus it may in fact be said, that the

cause of the depreciation of the value of cowries, arises from the arbitrary demands of the Shroffs from the Zemindars, who are obliged to force their under-tenants to pay them the Cowries at the same rate for the Rupee, which they pay the Shroffs."

43rd. To receive cowries generally again in payment of Revenue might have the effect of perpetuating that barbarous currency which on all hands it is agreed to be desirable to supersede, while to attempt to fix its value without acknowledging it to be a legal currency of the district, might appear to be an arbitrary and inconsistent act. I would therefore propose that cowries be rendered by enactment, the legal currency of Cuttack, as a fractional part of a Rupee, and that they be fixed in value at the rate assumed in the general assessment of the District, Viz.—

4 Cawons of Cowries equal to 1 Calcutta Sicca Rupee.

1 Pun of Cowrie equal to 1 Copper Pice.

44th. The Collector of Cuttack, has a considerable stock of pice in hand. These, he should be instructed to disburse at his discretion, so as to introduce them most effectually into circulation.

45th. Should the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council be pleased to approve of these suggestions, I would beg leave further to recommend that the mint master be directed to prepare with the least practicable delay a remittance of Pice to the extent of 50,000 Rupees worth, for the purpose of being disbursed in Cuttack, and that supplies of that currency may be continued to be furnished for the same purpose from time to time, until it should be as completely established in Cuttack, as in any other part of the Hon'ble Company's Territory.

46th. It is hardly to be expected that a law fixing the value of Cowries in Cuttack, will go far in preventing the continuance of exaction and oppression in some shape or other. The acknowledged existence of these evils will still remain I fear, to exercise the vigilance of the local authorities, under the general administration; but the proposed law, may prevent the Currency of Cowries, being in future perverted, as of late, into one of the readiest means of committing enormous exaction.

COLLECTIONS OF LAND REVENUE IN THE DISTRICT OF CUTTACK

From November 1804/5	Collections in Rupees of sorts.	Value in Calcutta Sicca Rupees	Collections in Calcutta Sicca Rupees	Total Collection in Calcutta Sicca Rupees
	2,43,541	2,26,550	5,38,004	7,64,554
1805/6	70,241	65,340	12,27,260	12,92,600
1806/7	5,07,856	4,72,370	5,52,537	10,24,907
1807/8	7,62,215	7,09,037	4,98,898	12,07,935
1808/9	4,42,200	4,11 228	8,90,393	13,01,621
1809/10	2,80,699	2,61,115	8,29,172	10,90,287
1810/11	2,65,342	2,46,830	10,74,950	13,21,788
1811/12	1,47,671	1,37,037	13,32,831	14,69,868
1812/13	1,59,213	1,47,273	11,45,665	12,92,938
1813/14	1,60,984	1,49,104	11,42,132	12,91,236
1814/15	1,40,634	1,30,182	13,62,569	14,92,751
1815/16	2,13,037	1,97,463	12,64,799	14,62,262
1816/17	44,158	40,932	12,10,929	12,51,861
Total—	31,94,230	29,67,911	1,25,32,143	1,55,00054
Average of 12 years	2,66,186	2,47,326	10,44,345	12,91,671

H. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government, Territorial Department, to I. W. Therer, Accountant General,

15 August 1817

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo with its enclosure.

2nd. The Vice President in Council has derived much satisfaction from the perusal of your report, which you have very judiciously framed on the principle of furnishing Government with all the information which the records of your Office afford, bearing upon the question of the currency in the District of Cuttack, and of connecting at the same time the information thus afforded, with such observation, as could best illustrate the question referred to you.

3rd. From the circumstances detailed in your report there seems every reason to suppose that much misapprehension has existed on the subject.

4th. The depreciation in the value of Couries, may no doubt have afforded to the Mahajans, whose accounts are stated to be kept in that currency, the means of giving a colour to their exactions, but the fraud by which they are described as charging 6 or 7 Rupees for every 4 they lend (by debiting rupees at 6 or 7 Kahuns, and crediting them at 4) is so gross, that the Vice President in Council is not prepared from the evidence before him, to admit the existence of the practice.

5th, There appears ground to suspect that the exactions in question do not differ in character from those too generally practised in other parts of the country, towards the needy and improvident cultivators, in whose transactions with the Mahajuns, an usurious rate of interest universally prevails, and frequently to an extent, which would render it no longer necessary to seek any artificial cause for an explanation of the fact, that the Debtor must pay 6 for every 4 rupees he borrows.

6th. This however is an evil, which it would be in vain to attempt to correct by any sudden remedy. It flows necessarily from the proverty, the ignorance, and improvidence of the people, and the risk run by the lender; and it can only be cured by the gradual improvement of their condition, and by the more extended influence of our Laws.

7th. But at all times, the protection of the people from such evils must depend much more on the influence and exertions of the local officers, than on any general arrangement of Government, however well planned.

8th. In respect to the alleged exactions by the Zemindars, the Vice President in Council sees still more reason to believe, that much misapprehension exists in the reasonings connected with that subject.

9th. It is not alleged that they buy a higher rent than formerly, calculated in rupees, and the imperfect information now before Government, would lead to the belief, that their rents calculated in kind also, have not experienced any rise.

10th. The engagements of the ressots too, would appear to be made distinctly for a rent in silver, though the detailed particulars are specified in couries, and unless it were shown that the produce of the land had fallen in value along with couries, the fact that the rupees paid by the roytts are equal to a much larger amount in that currency, than formerly, cannot be assumed as indicating any real increase in rent.

11th. There appears indeed room to doubt, whether the Revenue was ever really designed to be paid in its nominal currency whether in fact the Kahu; was not always in such cases regarded as a mere money of account.

12th. At all events if the value of the produce of land, relatively to silver, has not fallen (and a priori, the Vice President in Council would be inclined to suppose that it had risen) the ryots would not appear in any way to have suffered and on the supposition that the pergunnah rates are estimated in Couries, the Zemindar would appear still maintaining the former rate of conversion, to do no more than protect himself from losing a third of his just rent, by the depreciation of that barbarous Currency.

13th. The motion that a depreciation in the value of Couries, indidates a scarcity of silver money, would appear to be founded on a mistaken application of a very ordinary principle, that the comparative value of things, will be inversely, as their abundance.

14th. The circumstance may obviously with equal justness be attributed to the greater plenty of couries, as to the scarcity of money, and as the exchange of 4 Kahuns to a rupee, is much above the rate current in other districts, it might naturally be expected that couries in Cuttack, could not be maintained at their nominal value. In Calcutta, the present rate is 5 Kahun, 10 Pun for rupee.

15th. The circumstance indeed of a depreciation in couries, is no certain indication either of an increase in the quantity of those shells; or a decrease of the silver Currency. It may in all probability result from the greater abundance of silver, the couries being gradually supplanted by a better Currency, are naturally less employed a smaller quantity will supply the wants of the district, and their conventional value must be expected gradually to fall.

16th. Thus instead of being a subject of regret, the fall in couries ought rather to be regarded as a very favourable indication of progressive improvement, and any temporary inconvenience arising from that cause, will, as remarked by Mr. Egerton, soon cure itself.

17th. This view of the case is confirmed by all the information contained in your report, which strongly indicates improvement in the state of the general currency of Cuttack.

18th. With the above impressions the Vice President in Council cannot seem the evil in question, to be one of sufficient magnitude to have in any sensible degree operated as a cause of discontent: although in looking out for grounds of complaint, the highness of rent, and prices calculated in couries, may naturally have been seized on as a pretext for clamour.

19th. It may however certainly be of considerable advantage to the people of Cuttack, to afford them a more abundant supply of Copper Currency as a medium of circulation in their petty transactions; though the effect of this measure, will probably be, still more to depreciate the inferior currency of couries.

20th. The Vice President in Council therefore entirely approves the suggestions contained in the 44th and 45th paragraphs of your report. You will be pleased to issue the necessary instructions accordingly to the Collector of Cuttack, for the disbursement of the stock of Pice now in hand, and the necessary orders will be issued to the Mint Master, to furnish as soon as practicable a further supply.

21st. With regard to the measure suggested in the 43rd paragraph of your report, the Vice President in Council entertains some doubts of its expediency.

22nd. Although at the period of our acquiring Cuttack, the value of Cowries would appear to have coincided nearly with that assumed in the Revenue accounts, and even in some degree to have exceeded it, yet that rate would now appear to be greatly too high, with reference to the market value of Cowries.

23rd. In regard to the assessment of the land, the conversion of cowries, into Rupees, appears as already intimated in a great measure nominal, and if therefore it should be deemed at all advisable to fix the value of an article in its nature so fluctuating, the Vice President in Council would be inclined to assume a higher standard.

24th. The value of cowries in the Calcutta market has already been adverted to, and it must be feared that any regulation which gave to couries in Cuttack a value so considerably higher than they prossess elsewhere, would seriously interfere with the object of introducing a Copper Currency.

25th. The Vice President in Council would rather be inclined to enhance the value of the Copper money, relatively to Couries, were in some degree beyond that which it enjoys elsewhere and to declare the couries a legal tender, at the rate of about 6 Kahun to the Rupee. The value however of those shells appearing to vary considerably from time to time, and to differ even materially at the same time in different parts of the District, it appears on the whole advisable to avoid any attempt to fix it by a legislative enactment.

26th. It would appear however to be proper to declare the Copper pice a legal currency, in the same manner as has been done in regard to Benares, and the Western Provinces; and it may

probably be convenient to extend the rule generally to Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. On this point however the Vice President in Council will be glad to have the benefit of your opinion, as well as of receiving a further communication of your sentiments on any of the other points noticed in this letter.

27th. The Vice President in Council would by no means wish to be understood as negativing your proposition of fixing the value of couries, but he seems it proper before adopting it, that the grounds on which its expediency may rest, should be very clearly ascertained,

Judicial Department.

No. 533
16 September 1817

Extract from the proceedings of the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council in the Judicial Department, under date the 16th September 1817.

Extract from the Resolution of the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council in the Judicial Department under date the 19th August 1817.

"Read the Secretary's report dated the 18th August 1817."

The Vice President in Council having taken the foregoing report into his consultation observes that the season for carrying on active military operations in Cuttack, has passed, and that the period has now arrived at which a Commission may be conveniently organized for ascertaining the general state of the District of Cuttack, and more particularly, of those parts, in which serious disturbances and disorders have prevailed and for the attainment of other points connected with the restoration of permanent tranquility.

The want of sufficient information would render it difficult, if not impossible, at the present moment, to define, with accuracy, what special powers or authority should be vested in the Commissioners, or the local limits within which such authority should be exercised.

The various branches of the internal administration under this Presidency, are so directly connected and interwoven with each other in the established code of Laws, that no material alteration could be made in the powers ordinarily vested in the local officers, in any one Department, without involving a modification of the laws as affecting other parts of the general system.

It would not indeed be an easy task to frame any special arrangement of that nature, so far especially as regards the powers and functions of the judicial officers, without revising the whole system, or without suspending the operation of the laws generally; a measure to which it would obviously be objectionable to have recourse, without the most urgent necessity.

It appears proper to remark in this place, that the recent distrubances in Khoordah, and in other Estates in the southern portion of Cuttack, are ascribed, in the various documents before Government, to very dissimilar causes, which may be generally described under the following heads :—

1st. The supposed unfitness of parts of the existing laws, to the character of the people, and to local circumstances.

2nd. The grievances which the inhabitants, generally or certain classes of the inhabitants, are stated to have sustained from oppressions and abuses committed by persons entrusted with the execution of the laws.

3rd. To the interested intrigues and machination of individuals possessing local influence and, lastly to the combined operation of some or all of these causes.

It is essential that the degree in which each of the causes in question may have tended to occasion the disturbances, should be carefully ascertained and distinguished.

With regard to the first point, Government alone is responsible for any dissatisfaction which may have arisen from the natural operation of laws unsuited to the character of the people, or ill-adapted to the circumstances of the country. It must rest with Government to determine whether any means of coercion, less rigorous than the sale of lands, can be adopted for the recovery of arrears of Revenue, whether it will or will not maintain the salt monopoly (1), whether any means can be adopted with advantage, for regulating the exchange of couries (2), or for adjusting the

(1) Note—It appears from enquiries already made, that the inhabitants of Cuttack purchase their salt for one half of the average price at which it is procurable by the inhabitants of Bengal.

(2) On this point the Accountant General has furnished a report, from which it would appear that the currency generally in the District of Cuttack, has of late years, been considerably improved and that the loss and inconvenience sustained by particular classes of people from the exchange of couries are of a limited nature.

settlement of the land revenue in a mode better calculated to promote the prosperity of the country; all these and other points of a general nature are now under the consideration of Government.

The 2nd point, viz—The abuses, exactions and oppressions supposed to have been committed by the native officers of Government, in different Departments or by the persons, will form an important branch of the inquiries by the Commissioners, and the mode in which that duty can, in the judgment of the Vice President in Council, be best executed, will be adverted to in a subsequent part of these resolutions.

It is unnecessary to offer any remarks regarding the 3rd point, further than to observe, that it will of course be the duty of both the civil and military authorities, to use every exertion to apprehend the chief instigators and active perpetrators of the outrages which have been committed in Cuttack, with a view to their being brought to justice.

The Vice President in Council now proceeds to state the mode in which it will be convenient to constitute the Commission with reference to the foregoing considerations, and without interfering, in any material degree with the general system of internal administration.

The nature of the duties in which Major General Sir, G. Martindell has been engaged, and the local experience which he has acquired, naturally suggest the expediency of appointing that officer to be a Member of the Commissson.

As it is not proposed to suspend or modify the existing Regulations at present in force in Cuttack, it will be necessary that the civil officer, to be joined in the Commission with Major General Sir, G. Martindell, should be possessed of experience in the Judicial Department.

The talents and judgment of Mr, Walter Ewer, and the extraordinary success with which his efforts, for the amelioration of the Police, and for the suppression of disorder in the Districts of Mymensing, Rajashahye and Midnapore, have been attended, point him out as peculiarly qualified for this trust.

The Vice President in Council accordingly resolves that Mr. Ewer, be appointed Acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, and Joint Commisssoner with Major General Sir G. Martindell,

for inquiring into the general state of that District, but more particularly, of those parts of it, in which disturbances have prevailed.

In his capacity of Acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, Mr. Ewer will of course be guided by the general Regulations in force in that District.

It will be his more special duty to prosecute the most diligent inquiries into the abuses and oppressions alleged to have been committed by Mirza Mendy, the late Darogah of Khoordah, and by any other police officers or persons attached to the establishment of the civil or criminal court of justice in Cuttack, whether such alleged abuses may be brought under his notice by Major General Sir, G. Martindell, or by other persons.

Mr. Ewer will of course proceed against such persons under the Regulations, with a view to their punishment, if guilty, either by the Magistrate, or by the court of Circuit.

As the conduct of the whole of the detailed business of the office of Judge and Magistrate, may not leave Mr. Ewer sufficient leisure to attend to the general duties proposed to be entrusted to the Commissioners, it will be necessary that a capable judicial officer should be stationed at Cuttack, vested with sufficient powers to conduct the general duties of the Judicial Department.

The Vice President in Council accordingly resolves that Mr. Melville, who is now at Balasore, be nominated to officiate as Joint Magistrate, stationed at Cuttack, and as Register, vested with the civil powers described in section 9, Regulation 24, 1814.

This arrangement, will render it unnecessary, to retain at present, any judicial officer at Balasore and the establishment now maintained there, may be conveniently employed at the sudder station of Cuttack.

The Vice President in Council takes this opportunity of directing that the salary attached to the office of Superintendent of tributary mehals in Cuttack, be abolished from the 1st proximo, in conformity with the orders recently received from the Hon'ble the court of Directors to that effect.

The duties of the office will be of course conducted, as heretofore, by the Acting Magistrate under the instruction which have from time to time, been furnished by Government.

Having thus provided for the discharge of the regular judicial business of the District, under the superintendence of Mr. Ewer, in his capacity of Acting Judge, and Magistrate, it remains to consider the general objects and duties to which the attention of the Commissioners should be jointly directed.

It will be the object of the Commissioner to make inquiries regarding those evils and abuses which have been stated in the correspondence now before Government, to prevail in the Revenue, and Salt Departments, and generally respecting the causes of the disturbances and discontent, from whatever source they may have arisen.

The powers vested by Law, in the person holding the office of Judge and Magistrate, will enable Mr. Ewer to act promptly in conducting any prosecutions which either he or the Commissioners may think necessary, with a view to the due punishment of officers in the Judicial Department, who may be proved to have been guilty of abuses or oppressions.

The Vice President in Council is aware that the powers which the Commissioners could thus exercise would necessarily, as the Regulations for the conduct of the duties of the Revenue and Salt Departments at present stand, be of a limited nature. But it is not requisite, with a view to the objects contemplated that they should interfere with the Collector, or salt Agent, in the discharge of the ordinary duties of those officers. The object of this arrangement, is to ascertain whether the natural operation of the rules established in those branches of the public service, bear hard upon the people, or whether supposing the rules themselves to be unobjectionable, they have been perverted by the intrigues and appetence of the native officers or others, into instruments of fraud, exaction, or oppression. Enquiries of this nature, it is conceived that the Commissioners would be able to conduct, without any modifications of the existing Regulation. At all events, a little experience will show, what provisions are necessry, to enable them to discharge the important duties confided to them, with effect, and Government may then adopt such further measures as the nature of the case may seem to demand. To enable the Commissioners to conduct this branch of their public duties, with greater effect, the Vice President in Council resolves that Mr. Anderson, be ordered to officiate in the capacity of Assistant to the Commissioners. The

nomination of this Gentleman was recommended by the experience which he has necessarily obtained of the duties of the Revenue as well as of the Judicial Department, in the situation which he at present holds at Bancoora.

The nature and object of the arrangement should be distinctly explained to the Collector and Salt Agent, through the Boards of Revenue, and trade, and those officers should be further informed, that the Vice President in Council expects that they will afford the most cordial co-operation to the Commissioners, in the conduct of any investigation, or in the discharge of any other duty, which they may undertake, in conformity with the present or any future Resolutions of Government, connected with those Departments, respectively.

It will form an important object of the duty of the Commissioners, to ascertain and determine whether Martial Law can, with safety, be dispensed with, in the Estates, or in any part of the Estates in which it is now in force.

It is of course extremely desirable, in every point of view, that the ordinary administration of justice, should be re-established as soon as practicable, and the Vice President in Council authorizes the Commissioners to annul Martial Law, in any places which they may consider expedient, without previous reference to Government.

In those parts of the district in which it may be necessary to continue Martial Law in force Major General Martindell, in his capacity of Commanding Officer of the district, will of course exercise his own judgment in the trial of persons charged with offences exclusively cognizable under that law, and the Civil Commissioner will not be authorized to interfere in any manner with regard to cases of that description.

With regard to other offences committed in such places which may not be cognizable by Martial Law, or which Major General Martindell may not deem it necessary to prosecute before Courts Martial, though legally cognizable by such Courts, it will be the duty of Mr. Ewer, to proceed against the perpetrators of them under the powers vested in him as Magistrate of the District.

The Commissioners should visit, in person, as far as their more immediate and distinct duties will admit those parts

of the District, in which disturbances may prevail, and they will determine the mode in which this object can be best accomplished, by visiting such places either separately, or together, or by deputing their Assistant for the purpose of making local inquiries.

Although it is of course desirable that the Commissioners should act conjointly, as far as their other duties will respectively permit, they will nevertheless consider themselves at liberty to address Government severally, whenever they may be necessarily separated from each other, in the dischrge of their public functions.

They will endeavour to facilitate to individuals who have just reason to complain of grievances, the redress of the injuries which they may have sustained, either by referring them to the judicial authorities, or by pointing out to the Collector, or Salt Agent, the adoption of legal measures directed to that object.

They will adopt every other means in their power calculated to restore confidence and tranquility and with this view, they must be authorized to extend, conditionally, the position of Government, to all offenders concerned in the late disturbances, excepting to such of the ringleaders, as may appear to have been most deeply concerned in exciting and fomenting disorders, or in the actual perpetration of murders. They should at the same time, be empowred to offer suitable rewards for the apprehension of persons of the latter description, and to use every effort to bring them to justice.

The conduct of the Rajah of Khoordah, and the degree in which he may have directly or indirectly, encouraged the recent disturbances, will form an important object of the Commissioner's inquiries; they will ascertain from the records of the Collector's office, the reasons which have prevented the settlement of the Zemindarce of Khoordah, from having been adjusted in the manner directed in section 35, Regulation 12. 1805, and they will report whether it will in their judgment be necessary or expedient to carry into immediate effect the orders of Government for removing the Rajah of Khoordah to the Presidency.

It will also be the duty of the Commissioners to ascertain whether the complaints of the Khundyetes, and Paiks, in Khoordah, regarding their having been deprived of their lands, or compelled to pay the same rate of assessment for their lands,

as the other cultivators of the soil, are well founded, and if so, whether a similar course has been pursued in any other parts of the District.

A short period, passed in the discharge of these duties and in inquiries of a general nature will enable the Commissioners to furnish to Government full information regarding the real state of the district, and to offer specific suggestions with a view to the establishment of permanent tranquility.

The Commissioners will correspond with Government, through the Secretary in the Judicial Department, on all points of a general nature.

The Vice President in Council observes, that the successful prosecution of the duties entrusted to the Commissioners, mainly depends on the maintenace of a cordial and unreserved intercourse between themselves.

Some difference of sentiment may naturally be expected to arise, with regard to the relative powers and functions of the Members of Commission of the nature described in the foregoing Resolutios, but, situated as the Commissioners are, Vice President in Council is satisfied that a sincere desire to promote the public good, will lead them, carefully to avoid any acts tending to excite collusion or irritation, that they will be respectively disposed to concede points of form or of minor importance and to proceed, in a spirit of cordiality and friendly co-operation, to carry into effect the important duties entrusted to them.

So long as the existing Regulations remain in force in Cuttack, the ordinary administration of the Police of Civil and Criminal justice as well as the duties attached to the Revenue, and Salt Department, must be conducted by the officers respectively holding the situations of Judge and Magistrate, or Collector, and of Salt Agent, in the District of Cuttack, nor is the Vice President in Council prepared to give any more definite instructions with regard to the powers and functions respectively to be exercised by the Commissioners in Cuttack, than those contained in the foregoing Resolutions.

Mr. Impey will be informed, that the Salary attached to the office of Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals has been abolished, and that Goveroment, having Judged it expedient to

adopt a comprehensive and special arrangement for the administration of affairs in Cuttack, has nominated Major General Sir Gabriel Martindell, and Mr. Ewer, to be Commissioners in that District, and has directed Mr, Ewer, in that capacity to assume charge of the office of Judge and Magistrate.

Mr. Impey will accordingly be instructed to deliver over charge of the office of Judge and Magistrate to Mr. Ewer, on his arrival at Cuttack, and to proceed, himself, to the Presidency. Mr. Impey will be permitted to draw the allowances attached to the office of Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, until an opportunity may occur of employing him to some other situation, or until further orders.

As Mr. Ewer, Mr. Melville, and Mr. Anderson, will necessarily be exposed to great additional expense, the Vice President in Council is pleased to authorize the former to draw an extra allowance of 1000 rupees a month, and the two latter of 500 rupees each, or in lieu of such extra allowance to submit bills for the actual expenses incurred by them while employed in the special duties, detailed in these Resolutions.

Mr. Blunt, will continue to discharge the functions of superintendent of Police, and Mr. Walpole, will be instructed to take charge of the office of Judge and Magistrate of Midnapore.

The Vice President in Council observes, that the necessary Instructions, with regard to the general questions depending before Government in the Salt, and Revenue Department, as far as they are connected with the District of Cuttack, will be hereafter issued to the proper authorities, from the Territorial Department.

Judicial Department

the 16th September 1817

(A true extract)

Sd/-..................

Secretary to Government

Judicial Department.

To

W. Ewer Esquire.,

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to transmit to you, for your information and guidance, the under mentioned documents.

Copy of a report regarding Cuttack, prepared under the orders of Government, by the Secretary in the Judicial Department.

Copy of the Resolutions of Government of the 19th ultimo, regarding the organization of a Commission in Cuttack, and on other points arising out of that arrangement.

Copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Adam, Secretary to the Governor General on the 19th ultimo, and of that officer's reply dated the 3rd instant.

2. His Excellency the most Noble the Governor General, having expressed his concurrence in the sentiments and measures described in the Resolutions of the Vice President in Council of the 19th ultimo, I am directed to desire that you will proceed to Cuttack, at as early a period as may be practicable. After receiving charge of the offices of Judge and Magistrate, and of Superintendent of the tributary mehals of Cuttack you will proceed to place yourself in communication with Major General Sir G. Martindell, with a view to arrange the most convenient means of carrying into effect the measures specially entrusted to you, and to him, in your capacity of Commissioners in Cuttack.

3. The powers and functions of the Commissioners, are to take effect from the date on which you may join Major General Sir G. Martindell.

4. Those powers and functions, are so distinctly stated in the Resolutions of Government, that it appears to be unnecessary at present to furnish you with any further instructions for your guidance, but I am directed by the Vice President in Council to state that, in his judgment, the attention of the Commissioners should, in the first instance, be directed to the object of determining whether Martial Law, can with safety be dispensed with in the Estates, or in any part of the Estates in which it is now in force.

5. The Master Attendant will be directed to hold in readiness a suitable vessel, to convey you, and Mr, Anderson, to such place on the coast of Cuttack, as may be most convenient.

6. The Provincial Court at Calcutta, will be instructed to administer to you the oaths of office as Acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack; You will yourself administer the requisite oaths to Mr. Melville, in his capacity of officiating Joint Magistrate and Register of Cuttack.

7. You will be furnished, from the Territorial Department, for the use of the Commissioner, with such docnments connected with the Revenue, and Salt Departments in Cuttack, as may appear calculated to aid the inquiries of the Commissioners, on the general points to which their attention has been directed.

8. In like manner, you will be furnished from my office, with copies of any documents recorded in the Judicial Department, which may appear likely to be of use; and the Commissioners will of course have access to the records of all the local civil authorities in Cuttack.

I am,
Sir,

Council Chamber,
The 16th September 1817.

Sd/- W. B. Bayley
Secretary to the Government

Judicial Department

To

A. Anderson Esquire.,

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to inform you that Government have been pleased to nominate you to officiate as Assistant to the Commissioners in Cuttack, who have been appointed for the purposes specified in the accompanying Extract from the proceedings of Government of the 19th ultimo.

2. Mr. Pigou, has been this day appointed to officiate, during your absence as Register of the District of the Jungle mehals, and as Assistant to the Collector of Burdwan, and

he will be directed to proceed to Bancoora, with as little delay as may be practicable, to assume charge of that office; If Mr. Hoppner, should not have returned to Bancoora, before the arrival of Mr. Pigou, at that station, the latter Gentleman will assume the temporary charge of the office of Magistrate of the jungle mehals.

3. You will administer to Mr. Pigou, the prescribed oaths of office, and will then proceed to join Mr. Ewer at the Presidency, with all convenient expedition.

4. With reference to the special nature of the duties entrusted to you as Assistant to the Commissioner in Cuttack, and to the additional expense to which you will be necessarily exposed, the Vice President in Council has been pleased to authorize you to draw, from the present date, and during the period in which you may be employed under the present orders, an extra allowance of 500 rupees per mensem, which is intended to cover all expenses incurred by you, whether on account of travelling, or any other personal charges.

Council Chamber,
The 16th September, 1817

I am
Sd/ W. B. Bayley

(Order)

Ordered that a copy of the Resolutions of Government of the 19th ultimo, and of the foregoing letters of the present date to Mr. Ewer, and Mr. Anderson, be sent to the Territorial Department for information, and that such measures may be adopted and such instructions issued from that Department, as the tenor of the paragraphs noticed in the margin may appear to require.

Resolutions Paragraphs 24, 26, 27, 34, 36, 37, 38.

Letter to Mr. Ewer Para 7.

Letter to Mr. Anderson Paras 1 & 2.

A true Extract.
Sd/ W. B. Bayley,
Secretary to the Government

(No 605)

Extract from the Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council in the Judicial Department, under date the 10th October 1817.

"Extract of a letter to Mr. Stirling, dated the 10th October, 1817.

Para 1st. "I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying copy of the resolutions of Government of the 19th of August last. In consequence of the state of Mr. Anderson's health, the Honourable the Vice President in Council has this day been pleased to cancel that part of the accompanying resolutions which relates to the appointment of Mr. Anderson, and has been pleased to nominate you to officiate as Secretary to the Commissioners in Cuttack, for the purpose of discharging the duties assigned to Mr. Anderson, in the resolutions above adverted to."

Ordered that an Extract (paragraph 1) of the foregoing letter to Mr. A Stirling, be sent for information to the Territorial Department, in continuation of the reference of the 16th ultimo.

A true Extract
Sd/ W. B. Bayley,
Secretary to Government.

Territorial Department.
The 24th October, 1817.

No. 956

To

R. Rocke, and W. O. Salmon, } Esquires.
Members of the Board of Revenue

Gentlemen,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copy of two extracts from the proceedings of Government, in the Judicial Department under dates the 16th ultimo and 10th instant together with copy of a resolution this day passed on the subject of the various questions connected with the Revenue Department which have come under discussion in consequence of the recent importunate events in the District of Cuttack.

2. You will of course issue particular instructions to the Collector of Cuttack to aid the Commissioners who have been appointed under the orders contained in the above extract, in the enquiries to which their attention has been directed and in the general discharge of the functions allotted to them, as far as they may be influenced by his proceedings.

3. The Vice President in Council will expect from Mr. Trower not merely that species of official assistance, which might be sufficient on ordinary occasions, but that zealous and cordial co-operation, which the present state of the District of Cuttack so urgently demands. It has appreared to the Vice President in Council the more necessary to express his sentiments distinctly on this point, as the discord which has latterly prevailed among the public functionaries in that quarter, if it has not fomented, the existing disturbances, has at least greatly embarrassed Government in its endeavours to apply a proper remedy to the evil.

4. The resolutions this day passed by Government which accompany this letter, will put your Board fully in possession of the present views of Government in regard to the management of the revenue concerns of the District of Cuttack.

5. From these you will discern that it is the wish of the Vice President in Council that the arrangements to be adopted for the settlement of the district should be considered in the most Comprehensive manner, and while the general subject is under consideration, the Collector and your Board will of course be guided by the existing regulations.

6. It may probably be found expedient to render the present settlement quinquennial throughout the district, or even to extend it for a further period. But until Government shall pass specific orders on that point, you will instruct the Collector generally to restrict the term of the settlement formed by him to the period fixed by Regulation 16-1816.

7. Under this rule the settlements which have been made by Mr. Trower for several Mehals for 5 and 10 years respectively will of course be subject to modification.

8. With respect to the Estates belonging to the Rajah of Khoordah, it is the wish of Government that they should as far as possible be kept open for the adoption of any arrangement which may hereafter appear advisable.

9. It will probably be expedient to avoid if possible, holding these Estates, Khas, but you will inform the Collector that all settlements of the lands lying within them, which he may now conclude whether with the surberakars or others, must be limited

to the present year, and where engagements have actually been entered into for a longer period, that they should be modified accordingly.

10. Under this resolution it will be intimated to the persons who engaged for the pergunnah of Limbai that their lease will be liable to be annulled by Government at the expiration of the present year 1225 Umlee.

11. A corresponding option of relinquishing their engagements must of course be granted to them, and if they consent to continue their engagements, and other considerations do not appear to Government to render it expedient to annul them with a view to the admission of the proprietor, the Vice President in Council would certainly consider the parties to have an equitable claim to be maintained in possession for the full period for which they have engaged, without any enhancement of jumma, in preference to any other presons offering to farm the mehal.

12. The fuller information which the documents referred to in the above resolution have conveyed to Government on the subject of the depreciation of the courie currency appears to the Vice President in Council to render it necessary to recur to the orders passed by Government under date the 15th November last in which a reduction of the allowances assigned to the persons attached to the temple at Juggernath was provisionally sanctioned.

13. In those orders the attention of your Board, and the Collector was specifically drawn to the enquiry how far the grounds on which the Collector recommended the above measure were well founded. But under the impression that the allowances in question were unnecessarily large, and that some portion might be applicable to purposes for which a specific amount in couries had been assigned by ancient usage, Government did not object to the reduction proposed by the Collector, and recommended by the Board.

14. From the correspondence which has since passed on the general subject of the courie currency the Vice President in Council sees ground to entertain still stronger doubts of the propriety of the measure, than were expressed in the above orders, and is desirous, in the event of the reduction having been made, that your Board should revise your determination on the subject, and again submit the case to Government.

15. The original papers which accompanied the letter from your Board of the dates noted in the margin are herewith retunred, copies having been made for the records of Government.

28th March 1817 with 2 enclosures.
9th May 1817 with 1 enclosure, not original.
23 June 1817 with 18 enclosures.
16th September 1817 with 7 enclosures.
30th September 1817 with 3 enclosures.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- Illegible,
Secretary to Government

Fort William,
the 24th October, 1817.

Secretary to Government, Territorial Department.

24th October 1817

Read the following papers regarding the District of Cuttack.

Letters from the Board of Revenue dated 28th March, 1817 with 2 enclosurers.

Ditto..................Ditto.................... Dated 9th May, 1817 with 1 enclosurer,

Extract from the proceedings of the Government in the Judicial Department dated 23rd May, 1817.

Letter from the Board of Revenue dated 3rd June with letter from the Collector of Cuttack and enclosures marked No. 1 to 17.

Letter from the Acting Persian Secretary dated 11th July with 2 enclosures,

Letter from the Board of Revenue dated 16th September, 1817 with 7 enclosures.

Ditto...........Ditto..............Ditto Dated 30th September with 3 enclosures.

Extract from the proceedings of the Government in the Judicial Department dated 16th September, 1817.

Ditto........................Ditto.................10th October.

Resolutions :—

The Vice President in Council observes that the labours of the special Commission appointed under the resolution by Government in the Judicial Department passed on the 16th ultimo will naturally, among other things, be directed to the full investigation the several points noticed in the papers above recorded or at least to such of them as are of general importance and interest.

The Vice President in Council does not therefore deem it necessary or proper on the present occasion to pass any final orders on any of the several questions of that nature which are discussed in those documents.

It may be useful however to state generally the sentiments entertained by the Vice President in Council regarding them especially in the immediate determination of Government is called for in regard to the disposal of the particular cases referred to in the letters from the Board of the annexed date and those cases are naturally embraced by the general questions above referred to.

Two of the questions treated of in the papers above recorded..................the state of the currency of the District, and the operation of the salt monopoly have already been made the subject of discussion with the Accountant General and the Board of Trade respectively and Government are fully prepared to adopt such measures as on cumminication with those Authorities or with the Commissioners, may appear calculated to afford relief to the inhabitants, and may be consistent with a just attention to the public resources.

With respect indeed to the former then appears great reason to doubt whether any rational ground of complaint exists and if the necessary fluctuation in the value of couries be converted into means of exaction on the part of the Money Dealers, the remedy will probably be found not in any attempt to fix the value of that barborous Currency, but in its gradual disuse on the introduction of better medium of Exchange.

At all events as the Government Jumma is fixed distinctly in Rupees and is, the Vice President in Council presumes, regulated by the value of produce of the Soil calculated in Silver Money, it is not apparent in what way any alteration merely in the relative value of Couries compared with Silver can affect the extent of the Government demand or the interest of the Landholders, as connected with it. If indeed the Jumma were assessed with reference to former accounts expressed in Couries, in which they are calculated at the rate of four kahans to a Rupee, it would be necessary to enquire whether couries had actually fallen in value compared with the produce of the soil, to the full extent of their apparent deterioration or had fallen in value relatively to Silver, or whether the apparent deterioration of the Courie Currency relatively to Silver was produced both by an actual fall in the value of those Shells, and by an actual rise in the value of Silver.

From the information before Government which is however by no means complete there appears reason to believe that the first of these suppositions is nearest the truth, and that in

fact the fall in the value of Couries instead of being a just subject or regreat, is one the necessary and natural consequence of the gradual improvement in the Currency of the District.

Even in this case however, it will probably operate temporarily to the disadvantage of the lower orders of Labourers, whose daily wages being in all likelihood disignated in Couries, will notwithstanding their depreciation remain for a time at the scale fixed by former usage, but this evil will correct itself, and will not extend to the great bulk of the agricultural population of the District.

On the question relating to the Salt Monopoly it does not appear requisite in this place to add anything to the observations which have already been communicated to the Board of Trade.

It may be remarked however, that the fall in the price of Couries would naturally tend to aggravate the apparent rise in the price of Salt, the great body of the people having no doubt been accustomed to pay in that currency for the Salt consumed by them, and in one of the petitions presented to Government by the Rajah of Khoordah, the comparison between the former and present price of the article is accordingly stated in Couries.

In a certain degree therefore the nominal rise in the price of Salt will be found to exceed the actual.

With respect to those questions which are immediately appertaining to the Revenue Department, the most important are those which regard the Assessment of the land, and the Collection of Revenue.

In regard to the first point the Vice President in Council is inclined to concur with the Board of Revenue in opinion that the District is not generally speaking, over assessed.

The moderate extent to which the Government demand has been increased in the District of Cuttack in the course of the past twelve years, when compared with the improvement in the public resources which has ordinarily resulted from the better system of internal Government in the Provinces ceded to us by Foreign powers, is calculated strongly to confirm this impression and much of the districts which have been experienced in the past and preceeding year and which has been ascribed to over assessment,

may perhaps be more justly regarded as the inevitable consequence of calamity of Season, in a Country where from want of Capital every partial failure must be likely to produce the most lamentable effects.

But although a mere consideration of the aggregate Jumma of the District would not suggest the belief that the public assessment presses hard on the District, it would not therefore follow that the evils resulting from the fluctuation in the settlement have been the less real.

A minute enquiry could alone determine how far the people have suffered from other demands than those of the public, and the opening which a settlement affords for such demands is certainly not one of the least powerful arguments against the frequent readjustment of the public dues.

Adverting at the same time to the very defective information on which the Revenue has hitherto been fixed, there must obviously be little security that the amount assessed on the several Estates has been adjusted on any equal principles, and so long as this defect remains unremedied, almost all the evils of over assessment may be experienced without any increase in the general Jumma of the District.

The means to be adopted for remedying this evil appear therefore to demand the most anxious attention.

The Board of Revenue are already aware of the important benefits which both the Local Goverement and the Authorities at home have been accustomed to anticipate from the re-establishment of Canoongoes and the reform of the office of putwary, and both the Board and the Collector will doubtless give to the accomplishment of these objects their most anxious attention and although a considerable period of time will probably be required for the full attainment of the expected advantages in the District of Cuttack, yet the Vice President in Council sees no reason to doubt the ultimate accomplishment of the object in view.

Government have hitherto postponed the adoption of any general arrangement for the formation of an Establishment of Surveyors in consequence of the absence of the Surveyor General but that Officer having now arrived at this Presidency it is designed to revise the consideration of the question of the communication with him at an early period.

It may not probably be found practicable to conduct by means of the proposed Establishment, Topographical Surveys, in so minute a detailed manner as to supersede the necessity of having recourse to other means of ascertaining the extent and produce of particular Estates, but the Vice President in Council would still confidently hope, that by obtaining Surveys of pergunnahs and other Divisions of the District, conducted on correct and scientific priniciples the Authorities may be put in possession of the means of bringing to an accurate test, the less perfect information which they may derive from other sources.

Without some such check, the President in Council would not anticipate much advantage from having recourse to measurements by native Aumins, to which both the Collector and the Board of Revenue appear to incline, and the manifold abuses with which an extensive adoption of that measure has ordinarily been attended, are too well known to demand discussion.

The proposal made by Mr. Trower in his letter of the 17th March last, to commence without delay the adjustment of the Jumma to be assessed at the ensuing settlement, so that the assessment of each Pergunnah might be separately concluded and reported on, appears certainly calculated to correct the inequalaties of the present assessment and although perhaps open to some objection, it undoubtedly merits consideration.

Adverting indeed to the embarrassment which is ordinarily experienced from the simultaneous expiration of the Leases of all the Estates in the District, and the consequent difficulty of forming the Settlement of each with sufficient care and deliberation, it will deserve consideration whether the benifits attending the course of proceeding hitherto followed, of fixing one general period for the settlement of the entire District, may not be counterbalanced by the advantages which would result from assuming distinct periods for the different portions of the District, so that the number of Pergunnahs to be settled in any one year, might not exceed what the Revenue Officers could easily superintend.

At all events it is of course desirable that the Collector should uninterruptedly prosecute those enquiries which are indispensably necessary to enable him duly to apportion the public Jumma.

Previously however to the adoption of any measure of the nature, of that proposed by him, it will be necessary to determine the course of proceeding to be adopted generally in regard to the ensuing Settlement of the District, and before deciding finally on this point, it is the wish of Government to have before it, the further information which the enquiries of the Commissioners will doubtless afford.

It is further the intention of Government to call upon the Commissioners to report their sentiments generally in regard to the plan of settlement to be adopted in Cuttack.

At present the Vice President in Council is inclined to think that it will be proper again to extend the existing Settlement of Cuttack by a Legislative Enactment analogous to that of Regulation B, 1816 leaving to the Zemindars who may be willing to engage the full fruits of any improvement which may have been made in the cultivation of their Estates, or the advantages which they may otherwise enjoy by the lightness of the Jumma assessed on them, and confining the labours of the Collector to the correction of any defects which may be found to exist in the assessment of those Estates which it may be necessary to resettle and to the acquisition of that information which is necessary to guide the future Revenue administration of the province.

With regard to the length of the term for which the settlement should be made it must be recollected, that the authorities at home have restricted the period of all Settlemant to 5 years, and Government would of course be very unwilling to hold out to the landholders hopes which the orders of those authorities might disappoint.

Although therefore the Vice President in Council entertains a strong persuation of the necessity of avoiding frequent settlements and although with this view he anticipates as already intimated the renewal by legislature exactment of the existing leases, yet he conceives, whether the existing settlement shall be so extended or a new settlement concluded at the expiration of the year 1226, it will in either case be proper generally speaking to form the arrangement strictly in conformity with the sentiment of the Honourable Court of Directors.

In particular cases however, it may appear expedient to admit some deviation from the general rule and such cases the determination of Government on which must necessarily rest chiefly on local peculiarities, it will in an especial manner be the duty of the Commissioners to bring to the notice of the Government. Among such cases the Estate of Khoordah may naturally be expected to rank, and from the embarrassment which has uniformly attended its management, as well as the importance attached to it by recent events, it will naturally attract the particular attention of the Commissioners.

It may be useful to notice in this place the course of proceeding hitherto pursued by Government in regard to that Estate and the circumstances by which it has been influenced, as they appear from the Records of Government.

On the first occupation of the Province of Cuttack, the same liberal terms were offered by the Commissioners to the Rajah of Khoordah as to the other Tributary Rajas. It appears even to have been distinguished by particular marks of consideration.

He early however shewed reluctance to submit himself to the British authorities and soon compelled Government to proceed against him as a Rebel.

His fort was taken and he himself soon afterwards made prisoner. He accordingly continued under restraint from January, 1805 until March, 1807 when he was released from confinement and vested with the Superitendence of the temple of Juggannath.

His Estates which were declared forfeited to Government and a certain portion of them actually alienated were not however restored to the Rajah till some months later.

Even if the terms of Section 35, Regulation 12,1805 did not plainly shew that those provisions of it which regard the rate of assessment, have relation only to those cases on which a settlement had been made by the Commissioners, and that it was designed merely to provide for the permanency of the Jumma of Khoordah wherever it might be found convenient to make a final arrangement in that Estate, the above detail would still evince how groundless any pretension on the part of the Rajah to require as a matter of stipulation under the above law the permanent settlement

of his lands, still more the futility of claim to hold them at the Peshkush which he paid to the former Government since at the period when Regulation 12,1805 was enacted the Rajah was prisoner and his Estate was considered forfeited to Government.

On the restoration however of the Rajah to his Estate, it was determined under the provisions of Clause 3, Section 35, Regulation 5. 1805 to conclude with him a permanent settlement for Killah Khoordah and although with reference to his former conduct and to the Clemency and indulgence which had been shown towards him, it was not deemed necessary or proper to replace him in the possession of those advantages which were orginally proposed to him in common with the other Tributary Rajas, yet with advertance to the charge with which he was envested of the Temple of Juggarnath, the reverence felt for him by the whole body of Hindoos, and the immunities which he had formerly enjoyed Government resolved to assign to him a liberal provision.

The option was accordingly given to him in the year 1808 of engaging for Khoordah at a permanent assessment for Rupees 94374 which was stated by the Commissioner in Cuttack to be calculated to leave him a profit far exceeding 10 percent on the Sudder Jumma, and subsequently when a settlement was concluded with farmers for a period of 10 years at a Jumma of 118000 Rupees the demand of Government was limited to 95000 Rupees subject to eventual reduction on account of certain claims to Lakhraj land and the difference between the Sudder Jumma and the amount receivable by the farmers was assigned to the Rajah. calculated to afford him an annual provision of Rupees 24000.

The above arrangement failed with the insolvency of farmers, and in the subsequent settlement the Jumma of the Estate in some degree decreased, the Malikana of Rajah appears to have suffered a correspondent diminution but still exceed 23000 Rupees per Annum. In the two past years it has been restored to its original amount.

The experience of the past has certainly indicated the inexpediency of forming the settlement of this Estate with speculating farmers, and whether from the nature of the Country, the character of the people or from whatever cause there appears to be some reason to doubt whether a settlement with the Sirbirakars is the measure best calculated to secure the prosperity of the Estate and the public advantage.

Both Mr. Buller and Mr. Richardson appear to have been strongly impressed with an opinion that the Rajah was unfitted by character for the management of his Estate and would in the event of his entering into engagements have failed in the performance, even though the Sudder Jumma had been assumed on a very moderate scale.

His employment as Superintendent of the Temple and the emoluments derived from that situation were further stated as opposing obstacles to his assuming charge of Khoordah where the above circumstances would prevent him from residing.

It appears indeed certain that while the present arrangement is continued under which the Rajah, although freed from all responsibility for the public Revenue receives so large an allowance as proprietor of Khoordah he will not consent to assume the management of that Estate, although the amount of the collections even under all the disadvantages of temporary and fluctuating measures, would appear to evince that the terms on which it has been repeatedly offered to him are extremely liberal.

Mr. Richardson indeed in his report under date the 3rd January 1814 states that the Rajah had rapeatedly declared his determination not to engage for his Estate unless the Sudder Jumma were reduced to 3000 Rupees.

The very favourable terms allowed to the Proprietor of Kunka who was admitted permanently to engage for his extensive and valuable Estate at an annual Jumma of Rupees 20586.8.10 may naturally have excited in the mind of Rajah of Khoordah, the hopes of a similar indulgence.

It may be proper therefore to notice that although the suspicions attaching to the former had justified Government as a measure of precaution in temporarily securing his person, and although his conduct determined Government no longer to entrust him, with the unrestricated management of the Police within his Estate he yet committed no act which could justly be made the ground of forfeiting any of his vested rights.

Although therefore the Government had originally on reinstating the Rajah in his possession of his Estate directed a settlement of the Revenues to be made, yet it having appeared from the represervation of the Revenue authorities that the first

Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack, had agreed to limit the Jumma of the Rajah to the above sum, Government acceded to the proposition for confirming that arrangement.

It would be useless now to examine how far the grounds on which the Rajah of Khoordah was admitted to his Estate on the above term were duly sifted. It is sufficient to remark that the Rajah of Khoordah stood on a different predicament and his claims would certainly not be strengthened by any considerations which might tend to evince that the Rajah of Kunka was too highly favoured.

His own conduct in the important and honourable station of Superintendent of the Temple would certainly appear, not to have been such as to strengthen his personal claims to his indulgence.

It may however as above intimated be apprehended that the great amount of the allowance assigned to the Rajah has itself tended to induce him to divest himself of responsibility for the Public Revenue.

Adverting to all the circumstances connected with the Pergunnah of Khoordah the Vice President in Council is strongly inclined to think that it would be very desirable to induce the Rajah to engage for his Estate. Government however are by any means prepared to admit him on terms which would induce so large a sacrifice of Revenue as those to which from Mr. Richardson's Communications above quoted it appears he looks and it may deserve consideration whether some modification of the arrangement under which he now receives Malikana by rendering a diminution of the profit derivable from the Estate a consequence as it naturally ought to be of his being relieved from the responsibility for the Public Revenue may not be expedient provided of course it be entirely compatible with a due fulfilment of any pledge which may have been given to the Rajah.

In respect of this Estate the restrictive orders of the Honourable Court above alluded to do not of course apply, and no limitation or reservation in regard to the period for which the settlement may be concluded would appear to be requisite,

In other cases it would not for the reasons above assigned be expedient to form a settlement for a longer term than five years especially as the Vice President in Council sees no reason

to doubt that the Honourable Court will be prepared to sanction even a permanent settlement the political expediency to illustrate wherever they shall be satisfied that it has been formed on equal priniciples, and that the just rights of Government and of the agricultural population have been ascertained and secured.

For this purpose it will of course be an object of the most zealous exertions on the part of the Collector and the Board of Revenue to lay before Government for communication to the Authorities at home the fullest possible information in regard to the extent and produce of the lands, the state of cultivation, the nature of the tenures by which property is held and in short (to the terms of dispatch from the Honourable Court on the subject) everything relating to the rights and interest both of the Government and the subject as connected with the land. To these inquiries the attention of the Commissioners will likewise no doubt be directed.

Among other objects connected with the above subject it will undoubtedly be of the highest importance that arrangement to be made for distinctly ascertaing and securing the right of Government to share in the future improvement of the extensive wastes which still are stated to exist and to this subject the Collector appears very properly to have turned his particular attention.

The Board of Revenue have proposed that in Estates comprising extensive tracts of waste lends the proprietor shall be required to enter into engagements for such wastes in a moderate progressive Jumma without however executing a separate Tahood and that in the event of a considerable portion remaining uncultivated at the expiration of the term of the Settlement it shall be at the option of Government to make whatever arrangement it may consider necessary for bringing such lands into a productive state.

They at the same time object te the proposal of Mr. Trower for eventually letting the waste lands to farm separately on the ground that they are dispersed over the Zemindary and intermixed with the cultivated lands.

The question is certainly one to be considered in a considerable degree by local consideration, and with the imperfect information now at hand the Vice President in Council would by no means wish to be understood as giving any conclusive opinion.

The Vice President in Council is however disposed to doubt the expediency of any general requisition on the landholders to enter into engagements for the waste lands lying within their Zemindaries. In many cases it must happen from want of Capital and population that the Zemindars are destitute of the means of reclaiming the waste lying within their Estates, or their habits and character may be adverse to improvement, yet their habitual improvidence and natural desire to retain possession of their lands may often induce them to enter into engagements to for a future and distant increase of Revenue (if such a stipulation be rendered the condition of their being admitted to engagement at all) though the means of increasing the resources of their land may not be within their reach and although they had no thought of making any extortion to effect that extension of cultivation by which alone the increased demand of Government can be met. Under such circumstances the proprietor will in all likelihood seek to meet the demand of Government by exactions from his Ryotts, and instead of that improvement in the expectation of which the Russad may have been adjusted the accumulation of balances, the ruin of the proprietor and the ultimate deterioration of the Estates may ensue.

On the otherhand where the waste is much intermixed with the cultivated land, difficulty would undoubtedly be expresed in forming a Settlement with distinct persons.

Although in such cases, it may of course be desirable to encourage by favourable terms the Zemindar distinctly to engage for their waste lands where the portion of waste is considerable and the proprietors have the means of improving them, and where the prospect of improvement appears to be well assumed and its nature definite (as for instance where the number of Beeghas to be reclaimed and the rent of each can be adjusted) yet in general the Vice President in Council would deem it advisable to limit the Jumma of Estate to what they are in their ordinary condition well able to bear, to leave to the Zemindars during the period of their lease the fruits of improvements, and although securing the means of sharing hereafter in the increased resources of the district by ascertaining as distinctly as possible the extent of land now cultivated yet to avoid anticipating by a certain demand, a speculative improvement.

While better means of information are wanting it may deserve consideration whether the Zemindars may not be called on to specify the extent and condition of their Estates and whether the engagements entered into with them shall not be distinctly framed on the assumed accuracy of such specification. In all cases in which the waste land may be of great extent and may admit of easy separation from the cultivated lands no material objection would appear to exist to the proposal made by the Collector for letting the waste lands to farm (so modified as not to infringe the right of private property) but previously to the adoption of any measure of that nature Government would of course desire to have all the circumstances of the case before it.

As connected with this subject and at the same time immediately relating to the general question of the mode of settlement to be adopted in Cuttack, the practice which appears pretty generally to have prevailed of concluding settlements with a Resudee Jumma appears next to require notice.

In regard to the expediency of an arrangement of this nature, which must greatly be influenced by local considerations, Government must of course rely greatly on the local officers.

The experience however of the Revenue officers in the Western Province appears to have evinced the inexpediency of such an anticipation of prospective improvement, and to shew the propriety of framing all settlement at an equal annual Jumma, except in cases where from the effects of temporary calamity the proprietor enquires in the first year of his lease an abatement in the Revenue, justly assessable on the ordinary produce of his lands, and the increase in succeeding years goes merely to restore the Jumma of the Estate to its natural scale, or in cases of land which the proprietor may have actually begun to redeem from waste but the cultivation of which is still and imperfect.

In all cases in which the improvement is speculative and remote, the russad will, it may be apprehended by disheartening or overburdening the proprietor, itself disappoint the expectation in which it is adopted and thus seriously affect the sources of future wealth. In Cuttack especially where capital appears to be extremely scanty a wise and provident policy evidently suggests the expediency of more than ordinary forbearance, and of leaving the proprietors to reap the full fruits of any improvement which they may effect during the period of their engagements.

In the view of the subject of the demands consideration whether the depending settlement at Cuttack, restricted by the provision of Regulation B, 1816, to the expiration of the only year 1226 should not be immediately extended to the end of Umlee year 1228. When that Regulation was passed, the limited term of three years was adopted under an impression that all the requisite information might be obtained during that interval to enable Government, with the sanction of the Authorities at home to form a permanent Settlement of the District at the expiration of that period. Recent events have frustrated that expectation. Adverting however to the prospect which now exists of the gradual reestablishment of tranquillity in Cuttack, and to the means proposed in these minute to be employed for the purpose of obtaining more accurate information regarding the extent and produce of the prinicipal Estates, the Vice President in Council can not exclude from his mind the hope that all the requisite knowledge may be obtained previously to the expiration of the year 1228 to enable the Government without any material sacrifice of the public resources to conclude a permanent settlement of the District, a measure on which its prosperity certainly, and probably its tranquillity, will ultimately mainly depend.

The only remaining question connected with the settlement of the District which appears to call for any remarks is the allowance of Malikana to recusing Zemindars.

Government are entirely satisfied that the grant of some such provision to all proprietors of land of the desoription of those contemplated in the Regulations applicable to the Lower Provinces is equally expedient and equitable but there appears some reason to believe that the allowance in question has been hitherto fixed on too high a scale, and that it may in many cases have held out a temptation to the land holders to divest of themselves of the responsibility which they would incur by engaging. On this subject Government have very recently had occasion to communicate their sentiments to the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, and to that correspondence the Vice President in Council deems it sufficient to refer. The circumstances of those Provinces, in as far as respects this question, do not essentially differ from those of Cuttack, and the same principle may be therefore deemed applicable to both, expecting in as far as the Regulations applicable to the latter or the course of proceeding followed in regard

to the management of the Revenue affairs may be considered to have pledged Government to a continuance of allowance.

On this subject however, as well as generally in regard to all permanent arrangement connected with the administration of Cuttack, it is the wish of Government before coming to any final determination to have the benefit of the information to be expected from the labours of the Commission.

The consideration of the measure to be adopted for the future management of Khoordah, to which their attention will naturally be peculiarly directed will indeed, as noticed in a preceding part of this Resolution, specially include this point.

With respect to the persons, with whom on the recusance of Zemindars, the settlement ought to be formed few remarks appear necessary. The Collector and the Board of Revenue appear to have been uniformly anxious to avoid if possible having recourse to Khas management, and to admit the Head Ryots to engage in preference to farmers. It would however be satisfactory to Government to have more complete information than appears hitherto to have been furnished, regarding the system of Village policy prevalent in Cuttack, particularly the nature of the rights and priveleges enjoyed by the different classes of persons who have an interest in the soil from the Zemindar down to the actual cultivator of the land.

The particular attention of the Commission has been directed to ascertain how far the complaints of the Paiks and Khandaits regarding their having been deprived of lands and compelled to pay the same rate of assessment as the other cultivators are well founded.

The Collector will of course afford to the Commission every facility in prosecuting the above enquiry in the conduct of which the Commissioners will naturally investigate fully the numbers and character of the persons referred to, the extent of land which was assigned to their support and how far the rules of Regulation XIII, 1805 which were ever designed to secure their priveleges may have been carried into effect and whether those priveleges have been invaded and by whom.

It remains to notice the 2nd branch of the subject now under discussion viz. the mode of realizing the public assessment.

That very extensive public and private sales have taken place since the period of our acqusition of the District of Cuttack, is fully shewn by the paper No. 8 submitted by Mr. Trower in his letter of the 23rd May last.

From that document it appears that in the 12 years from 1223 there were sold by public sale 1011 Estates bearing a Jumma of Rupees 836963 and by private sale 1004 Estates bearing a Jumma of Rupees 1070397. The total number of Estates transferred by sale in the period in question is 2015 bearing a Jumma of sicca Rupees 1907360.

The total number of Estates comprised in the District of Cuttack (independent of the Tributary Mehals) is stated by the Collector at 2340 Jumma in Sicca Rupees 1401253.

In the above statements of the number of sales it is plain (the Jumma exceeding greatly that of the whole District) that the Collector has considered separately each of repeated sales of the Estate.

Still however after every allowance for repeated sales of the same Estate it is clear that a very extensive change of property has taken place and it can scarcely be doubted that this has been accompanied with much distress.

To the ordinary causes of dissatisfaction which are necessarily connected with an extensive sale of lands for arrears of Revenue must in this case be added the strong aversion which the people of Cuttack naturally have to the intrusion of strangers such as all Bengalees and particularly Musselmans are considered and from the statement No. 1 furnished by Mr. Trower it appears that from the 1st December 1806 to the 4th January, 1817, 350 Estates bearing a Jumma of Sicca Rupees 442804 have been purchased at Public Sales by Natives of Bengal.

In considering the above statements there is certainly too much reason to apprehend that the power of sale has scarcely been exercised with the caution and forbearance which the peculiar situation of Cuttack (an unsettled and almost unknown frontier Country) might naturally have suggested.

This however, as intimated by the Board of Revenue, must in a great measure be attributed to the system of Revenue

management itself, which has been applied perhaps prematurely to the district in question. Contemplating the permanency of the settlement the legislature seems to have trusted too much to the mere responsibility of land, and the only security for the Revenue being the penalty of sale in the case of default, the circumstances of the country and the character of the people (differing essentially from those of our ancient possessions) have led to the frequent infliction of the penalty the terror of which it was probably hoped would alone have been in most cases sufficient to secure the public dues.

The rules of the Bengal Code extended with slight modifications to Cuttack relieve the landholder almost wholly from personal restraint, impose no obligation of finding security for the payment of the Revenue, and omit all precautionary measures for preventing the misappropriation of the crop, but leaving this to the proprietor the unrestrained enjoyment of Estate, they in hold the land peremptorily answerable for the Jumma assessed upon it, because they look to the land alone for the security of the Public Revenue.

These rules are undoubtedly well calculated for Provinces where long habit to our rule has produced a comparative regularity of payment, and where in consequence of the Permanent Settlement, the Government revenue is reduced to a comparatively small proportion of the produce of the lands.

In such a state of things the landholders must be expected to be little likely to abuse their freedom from restraint to the extent of entirely squandering the fund, whence the public revenue is to be paid, and punctuality of payment may justly be demanded by Government in exchange for the increased advantages which the Permanent Settlement affords. Even under this system however Government had to regret the necessity of an extensive recourse to sale. It is almost unnecessary to add that those considerations, which justify in Bengal a rigorous recourse to that measure were always but imperfectly applicable to the District of Cuttack, and have of course become still less so since the permanency of the Settlement has been disallowed by the anthorities at home.

The people new to our modes of transacting business, the Revenue Authorities singularly uninformed of the condition and capabilities of the District, the Jumma adjusted frequently according

to the offers of speculating formers on the principle of leaving the proprietor only 11th of the net produce of this Estate, and the general poverty of the people, ill prepared to meet temporary difficulties whether arising from calamity of season or the dishonesty of their under-tenants, all these circumstances may naturally be expected to produce a considerable want of punctuality and must infallibly lead under the rigid enforcement of the rules of the Bengal Code to very extensive Sales for the recovery of arrears of Revenue.

It ought further to be remarked that the rule for selling Estates in the middle of the year, formed no part of the original Code of 1793 and that the provisions of Regulation 31794 which prescribed a recourse to that measure, were found to be productive of material ill consequences, by the frequent and successive sales which they occasioned. They were accordingly rescinded by Regulation 7,1799, sales being confined to cases in which balances were outstanding at the close of the year, except on particular occasions which might appear to call for the special orders of the Government.

The Vice President in Council doubts not that the discretion now vested in the Revenue Boards under the provisions of Regulation 18,1814 of selling lands for arrears due on account of the current year, may be very beneficially excercised in the several districts of our ancient Provinces, though even there he would wish it to be excercised with tenderness. But if the postponement of that process was found expedient in the early part of the Permanent Settlement, it must be much more necessary in the District of Cuttack, where the Zemindars can scarcely be expected to have in reserve any fusid to meet a temporary failure of their Crops, and where they can not borrow on the security of their lands, but at a ruinous rate of interest.

Although therefore it is probably impossible without reserving to the Revenue Authorities the power of selling for arrears to secure the Collection of the public Revenue, yet the Vice President in council is entirely of opinion that sales on account of arrears in the Revenue in the current year should be for the present at least avoided.

It remains to be considered whether any means can be adopted for obviating the necessity of a recourse to Sale, though the discretion to sale be retained.

APPENDIX—A.

The annexed statement which has been procured from the Accountant to the Revenue Department will show how great a want of punctuality in the discharge of the public demand has usually prevailed in Cuttack. In scarcely any year have of the Jumma been realized by 30th of April. In some years little more than ½.

This, as above intimated, is no sufficient reason to suppose that the district is generally over-assessed though the assessment may be somewhat unequally distributed, and it would follow therefore from the above statement that some decisive means are required to ensure the punctual discharge of the Public Revenue.

The threat of the sale of the lands alone appears plainly to be insufficient for this purpose, and it must be apprehended that the want of some restraint, which would prevent the Zemindars from falling in arrears has encouraged the profusion, which alternately produced their ruin and the sale of their Estates.

Compared indeed with the largeness of the balances outstanding in Cuttack at the close of each official year, the number of public sales however large when considered by itself cannot be deemed great. On the contrary it appears rather to evince the forbearance of the Revenue Authorities and to show that the fault lies in the system rather than in their mode of carrying it into execution.

It is to be observed that none of the reports now under consideration, have entered fully into any practical discussion of the means by which the evils above remarked can be obviated, and the Vice President in Council is not prepared to adopt any special attention in the existing rules. It will however naturally engage the attention of the Board of Revenue, the Commissioners, and the Collector, and it will deserve consideration whether the system ought not be more nearly assimilated to that followed in the Western Provinces.

It was indeed provided by the Article of the proclamation regarding the original settlement of Cuttack which forms the 14th Clause of Section 4, Regulation 12,1805, that persons engaging with Government should give security equal to the largest kind of the annual Jumma. •

This rule however appears never to have been acted upon at any of the subsequent settlement, the requsition of security being confined to the case of farmers and adverting to the evils with which it has been found to be attended in the Western Provinces which have indeed recently induced the Board of Commissioners to recommend its partial discontinuance there, the Vice President in Council is not disposed to urge its revival in Cuttack.

Although however the requsition of security indiscriminately made, may impose an unnecessary burden of the Zemindars and naturally exposes them to exactions from the Mahsjans and Bankers who become their sureties, still even when it induces as its consequence a charge of property, its operation has less tendency to excite irritation against Government than the direct act of perhaps deserve consideration whether it may not be advisable partially to adopt the measure in Cuttack,

The Vice President in Council is fully sensible how desirable it is to avoid as much as possible the attachment of Estates and the assumption of their immedtate management by the Officers of Government, but if the public Revenue is to be collected without a recourse to sale there appears little reason to hope that among a poor and improvident people the misappropriation of the funds, whence the public Revenue is to be drawn can be avoided without much stronger measurers of precautionery restraint than are authorised by the Bengal Code.

But whether present Regulations shall be maintained or any modification of them adopted similar to that alluded to in the above remarks, it will undoubtedly deserve consideration whether with a view to the punctual reallzation of the public Revenue as well as of the protection of the people from the abuse of those rules which may be adopted for its security it may not be advisable to appoint a separate Collector for the management of the Southern portion of the District.

The sudder Station of such a Collectionship would probably with most advantage be fixed at Juggurnath, and if the Mohanuddy were assumed as the dividing boundary of the two divisions, it would probably be expedient that the person to be entrusted with the management of the Northern portion of the district, should be stationed at some place more centrical than the town of Cuttack, which in the case supposed indeed would no longer be within the strict limits of his official authority.

The great extent of the District of Cuttack from its Northern to where it joins the territory subordinate to Fort Saint George, has indeed frequently pressed itself on the attention of Government and suggested the expediency of an arrangement similar to that above described.

It is needless to remark how much force, recent events and the influence which they must necessarily be expected to exert for a considerable period of time, add to the considerations by which an increase in European Agency to be employed in the management of the Revenue officers of the district recommended.

The above considerations will for the most part be of permanent application in the District of Cuttack, but they apply with particular force at the present moment, when it is proposed to commence an active enquiry regarding the extent and produce of Estates, to prevent as far as possible the sale of lands by the instrumentality of Officers acting under the immediate direction and control of the Collector, and to afford to the great body of people were immediate and certain means of redress, in regard to matters connected with the Public Revenue and dependent on the Revenue Authorities, than they can possibly possess in the present organisation of that District.

The Vice President in Council however deems it sufficient at present to notice the point for the consideration of the Board of Revenue and the Commissioners.

Although it should not be thought advisable to alter any of the rules in force for the Collection of the Land Revenue, or to adopt any direct measures with a view of preventing the necessity of public Sales, it will remain to be considered whether any further means shall be adopted for preventing the conversion of these sales into an occasion of abuse, and generally for regulating the mode in which they are conducted.

As far as concerns the Revenue branch of the service, the prohibition of the law is positive against the purchase by the Officers of Government of lands sold by the public sale in the district to which the officers belong : private purchases are however unrestricted and it must be feared that the prohibition above noticed is easily and frequently evaded.

Against the purchase of land by officers of Government not in the Revenue Department there is no prohibition, and the propriety of precluding Judicial officers from purchasing lands at Public Sales has more than once been under consideration. Doubts however being entertained whether the consideration, which led to the adoption of the rule for precluding the Native Officers of the Revenue Department from purchasing lands at the Public Sales, could be considered applicable to the Native Officers of the Judicial Department it, has not hitherto been deemed proper to extend that restriction to the latter class of Officers.

The Vice President in Council is by no means prepared to determine whether such a measure would be expedient.

It may perhaps be conjectured that the Officers of the Judicial Department possess an influeuce, which especially if uniting in intrigue with those of the Revenue Department, may enable them to secure an undue advantage at Public Sales, and if the object in view could be accomplished, it would perhaps tend to prevent considerable abuse and many intrigues to which the Zemindars must be exposed.

But it may be doubted whether the restriction in the case of Revenue Officers is effective and whether without securing the object of it does not merely compel a secrecy which leads practically to an aggravation of the evil designed to be remedied.

The Vice President in Council would however wish the subject to be considered as entirely open to future discusion.

It remains to be considered whether any means can be adopted, without a violation of public faith for restoring any of the Mehauls which have been sold for the recovery of arrears of Public Revenue to the ancient proprietors.

All purchases at public sale under fictitious names being illegal by whomsover made Government may in some cases have the power of accomplishing that object directly by inflicting on the purchaser the penalty of forfeiture and in all cases, in which the slightest suspicion of unfair dealing may exist including of course all such illegal purchases by Officer of Government in whatever Department, the Vice President in Council would not be disposed to relax the severity of the law.

To this point therefore it is desirable, that enquiry of the Commissioners and of the Colletor should be directed.

Considerable caution however will be necessary in the prosecution of any measures for this purpose since it can scarcely be doubted that any extraordinary readings to encourage information of benamee sales would lead to great abuse. New purchaser in fact would be safe, if it were conceived that the old proprietor could by such means recover his property.

With respect to other cases of Public Sale the Vice President in Council is not prepared to suggest any specific course that can be pursued with a view to the above object.

In cases of peculier hardship Government will be prepared to make some pecuniary sacrifice, but the application of that principle will require great care and discretion.

The sales at the Presidency are, there is reason to believe, regarded as a grievance, not only in Cuttack, but generally through the Country unless therefore the pecuniary benefit is certain, they had better be given up.

The Board of Revenue indeed state that the average price of Estates sold at their Secretary's office is considerably greater than that of those sold in the Zillah, but it is to be regretted that they have furnished no statement to shew the extent of this advantage.

The Statement (No. 1) furnished by Mr. Trower scarcely bears out the position. The Jumma of the whole of the lands included in that paper is Rupees 442804, the sale price Rupees 546622. The Jumma of the lands sold at the Board is Rupees 48544, the sale price Rupees 48211. At all events as the conducting of the sale at Calcutta is designed for the advantage of the Zemindars, (the sale price of large Estates generally leaving a considerable surplus after discharging all arrears) it appears desirable if practicable that the defaulter should have a voice in determiuing the place of Sale.

The Zillah appears the natural place for selling in ordinary cases, but the defaulter might have the power of removing the sale to the Board by an application made at a certain period before the day fixed.

The suggestion of the Collector for holding double sale would probably be found in practice to discourage bidding, especially in the Zillah, and in likelihood would open the door to intrigue and collusion but the Board having proposed as a temporary experimental measure to allow all sales to be conducted in the district, no further remarks appear necessary on the presesent occasion.

The last point connected with the subject now under discussion on which it appears to the Vice President in Council to be necessary to make any remarks is, in regard to the mode in which the Instalments of the Revenue are adjusted.

The Board of Revenue observe that the Mofussil instalments or payments of rent by the Ryot to the Zemindar require to be better regulated, and they justly intimate the evils which must result from the Ryot being compelled to anticipate the produce of his Crop.

It will doubtless have occurred to them as still more essential that the Sadar Kistibandi should be framed on just principles, and if it be so the Vice President in Council conceives that, the local Officers would experience little difficulty in effecting an adjustment between the Ryots and the Zemindar.

On this point therefore the Vice President in Council is desirous that particular enquiry should be made and that the means of correcting any defect in the adjustment of the Mofussil instalments which may be found to exist should be maturely considered.

Two further questions which though not relating to the management of the Land Revenue are yet connected with this Department, have been touched upon in the discussions, to which the circumstances of Cuttack have given rise, which it may be proper briefly to notice.

With respect to the interference on the part of the Collector in the internal management of the temple of Jugganath and 2ndly in regard to the management of Ferries.

On the first point Government have had repeated occasions of expressing its determination to adhere to the principle on which Regulation 4, 1809 is founded, and in particular the sentiments intermixed in reard to the specific act of interference which has again been noticed by the 4th Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, were fully explained in the Chief Secretary's letter under date the 11th February 1814. It cannot now be necessary to make any further observations on that point.

The recent orders which have been passed in regard to to Ferries generally as well as specially respecting those of the District of Cuttack, appear to the Vice President in Council to preclude the necessity of again entering on the subject.

Obvious considerations have appeared to the Vice President in Council to render unnecessary any minute enquiry in this place into the past history or supposed grievances of Jugbundoo. The information on this head indeed which the records of Government contain is by no means complete.

Such circumstances however as are there in detail render it a matter of little surprise that he should have been but ill disposed to submit patiently to any regular authority. It is still less a matter of surprise that he should have felt no attachment to a Government by which his own influence and authority were necessarily superseded.

The course of proceeding indeed to be adopted in regard to the class of persons to whom Jugbundoo belongs, and over whom he possessed so extensive an influence is one of the most delecate problems in the Government of this Country.

On the one hand if their Community and institutions be left entire, many evils will probably remain unremedied, under a scheme which must often disguise with the name of noninterference, a system of defective authority. Of those evils not the least is, that the success of the system and the preservation of tranquillity is immediately and seriously endangered by any defect in the person entrusted with its management. On the other hand any precipitate interference cannot be too strongly deprecated.

On this branch of the subject the Vice President in Council will only add, that on the first establishment of the British Authority in Cuttack, it was an object of the particular attention of Government to maintain all the preexisting establishment of Police in the Zillah, in a state of prefect efficiency. The advantages which were a priori anticipated from the operation of the plan, appeared for a time to be practically realized, but recent experience has since unhappily shewn that the general tranquillity of the District may under that system be disturbed, and the authority of Government set at defiance chiefly by malignant influence of a single individual belonging to the class of persons, to which these remarks, refer. The future organisation of the Police of Cuttack is one of the most important questions, which can engage the attention of the Commissioners and the Magistrate.

With respect to the claim of Jugbundoo to the Estate of Pergunnah Roorang the Vice President in Council sees ground to regret that it was not admitted.

The question of strict right would appear indeed to be more than doubtful, and there seems ground to believe that Jugbundoo was himself a party to the scheme which by including the Pergunnah in question in the neighbouring Pergunnah of Rahang was designed to defraud Government of the separate revenue to which it was entitled from the former.

The claim of Jugbundoo moreover was not rejected since in the final orders passed by Government in the case, it was expressly intimated that he should be admitted to the Estate in question, either on his Establishment a title in the regular course of law, or his satisfying the Revenue Authorities that he had a strong presumptive right to the property.

Still however it would perhaps have been advisable at once to have admitted him, no better on the part of any private individual apparing to oppose that course, and there being ground to fear that he might be precluded from asserting his just rights by the intrigues of designing men.

The case of Jagbundoo was indeed only one of the embarassments arising out of the sale of the Pergunnah Choubeeskud, Serain and Rahung to Kishen Chund Sing, and which proved eventually the doubtful expediency of that measure.

The right of Government to these Pergunnahs appears to have been sufficiently acertained. It was indeed contested only by the Rajah of Khoordah from whom of course Government were entitled to withhold such portion of his lands, as they deemed proper and that Rajah had long been divested by the former Government of the possession of those lands appeared undisputed.

The expectation that by transferring the Estates to a person possessing the capital necessary for its improvement the public advantage would be best promoted, appeared reasonable but whether from the character of the purchaser, the defective information on which the transfer was made or from what cause, the result appears to have shewn the danger of acting on any general principles however apparently solid without a full consideration of those local and accidental circumstances by which the expediency of all individual arrangements must be determined.

Ordered that a copy of the above Resolution be transmitted to the Board of Revenue for their information and

guidance, together with the Resolutions passed by Government in the Judicial Department on the 16th Ultimo and 10th instant.

Ordered further that copy of the resolution together with Copies of the several reports relating to the disturbances in Cuttack which have been furnished by the officer belonging to this Department be transmitted to the Commissioners for enquiring into the general state of the District of Cuttack in order that they fully consider the several points there noticed and report their sentiments upon them to Government.

Ordered likewise that the following letter be written to the Board of Revenue in transmitting the above Resolutions.

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT